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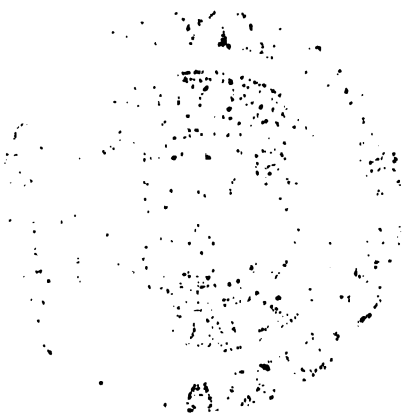

Helen Corbett 1814

OBSERVATIONS

ON

THE FAIRY QUEEN

OF

SPENSER.

By THOMAS WARTON, A. M.

FELLOW OF TRINITY-COLLEGE, AND PROFESSOR OF POETRY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

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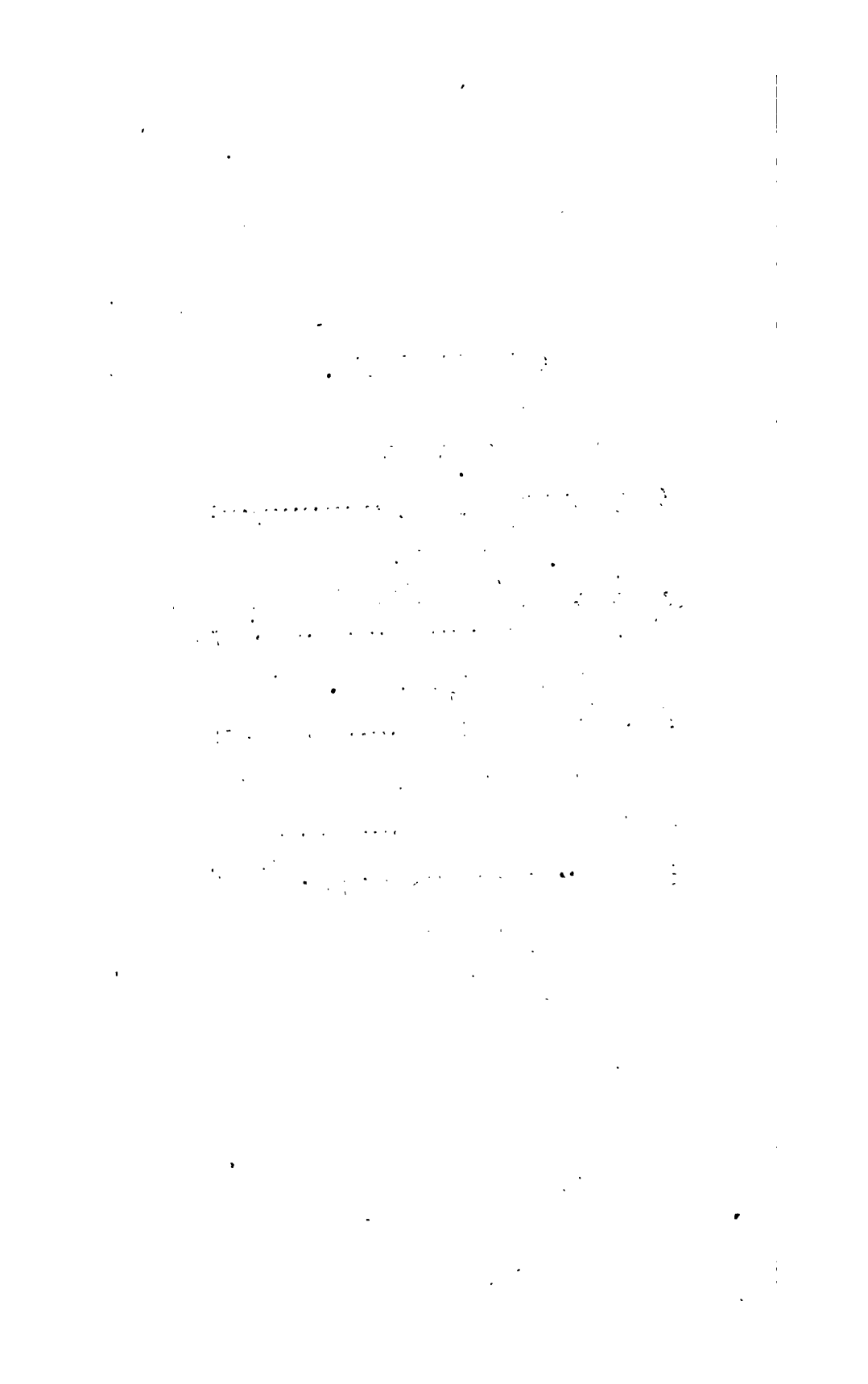

ON

THE FAIRY QUEEN

OF

SPENSER.

SECT. VIII.

Of Spenser's Imitations of Himself.

COMMENTATORS of less taste than learning, of less discernment than ostentation, have taken infinite pains to point out, and compare those passages which their respective authors have imitated from others. This disquisition, if executed with a judicious moderation, and extended no further than to those passages which are distinguished with certain induibitable characters, and internal

evidences of transcription or imitation, must prove an instructive and entertaining research. It tends to regulate our ideas of the peculiar merit of any writer, by shewing what degree of genuine invention he possesses, and how far he has improved the materials of another by his own art and manner of application. In the mean time, it naturally gratifies every reader's inquisitive disposition. But where even the most apparent traces of likeness are found, how seldom can we determine with truth and justice, as the most sensible and ingenious of modern critics has finely proved, that an imitation was intended*? How commonly in this case, to use the precise and significant expressions of that delicate writer, do we mistake resemblances for thefts? As this then is a business which does not always proceed on sure principles, often affording the amuse-

* See a Discourse on Poetical Imitation, by Mr. Hurd.

ment of conjecture rather than the satisfaction of demonstration, it will be, perhaps, a more useful design to give Spenser's Imitations of Himself, as I have shewn Milton's in the preceding section. This kind of criticism will prove of service in the three following respects. It will discover and ascertain a poet's favourite images: It will teach us how variously he expresses the same thought; and will explain difficult passages and words.

B. i. Introduct. s. 3.

Fair Venus sonne that with thy cruell dart,
At that good knight so cunningly didst rove.
* * * * * * * *

Again,

Like as Cupido on Idean hill,
When having laid his cruell bowe aside,
And mortall arrowes, wherewith he doth fill
The world with murd'rous spoyles, and bloody pray
With his fair mother he him dights to play,
And with his goodly sisters, &c.

2. 8. 6.

And in the following, speaking of Cupid in the garden of Adonis.

Who when he hath with spoyles and crueltie
Ransackt the world, and in the wofull hearts
Of many wretches sett his triumphs hie,
Thither resorts, and laying his sad darts
Aside, with fair Adonis playes his wanton parts.
3. 6. 49.

Thus again,

And eke amongst them little Cupid plaid
His wanton sports, being returned late
From his fierce warres, and having from him layd
His cruell bowe, wherewith he thousands hath dismayd.
2. 9. 34.

B. i. c. viii. s. xxix.

Prince Arthur enters Orgoglio's castle.

Then gan he loudly through the house to call,
But no man car'd to answer to his cry,
There reign'd a solemne silence over all,
Nor voice was heard, nor wight was seen in bowre or hall.

This affecting image of silence and soli-

tude occurs again, after Britomart had surveyed the rich furniture of Busirane's house.

> But more she marvail'd, that no footings trace,
> Nor wight appear'd, but wasteful emptinesse,
> And solemne silence over all that place.
>
> 3. 11. 53.

This is finely expressed: but the circumstance is common in romance. Thus when Sir Topas enters the land of Fairie.

> Wherein he sought both north and south,
> And oft he spirid [whistled] with his mouth,
> In many a forest wild;
> But in that countre was there none,
> Ne neither wife ne childe *.

But more appositely in the old metrical romance of Syr Degore.

> He went aboute, and gan to calle
> Bothe in the courte and eke in the halle;
> Neither for love, nor yet for awe,
> Living man there none he sawe †.

---

* 3310.

† Sign. C. iii.

This romance is in the Bodleian library *, among the following pieces; which I mention for the sake of those who are making researches in ancient English literature. 1. Adam Bell, Clim of the Clough, and William of Clowdeslie. These were three famous archers. The former, as I observed before, [pag. 73. vol. i.] is mentioned by Shakespeare †. 2. The Knight of Courtesy and the Lady of Faguel. This, I think, is the story of Coucy's heart, related in Fauchet, and Howell's letters; which, as they tell us, was represented in tapestry, in Coucy castle, in France. 3. Jyl [Jyllian or Julian] of Brentforde's Testament. [4. Syr Degore.] 5. Syr Eglamoure of Artoys. This name occurs in the fourth act of Shakespeare's Gentlemen of Verona. 6. Syr Tryamore. These three last are in short verses, as most of the old metrical ro-

* C. 39. 4to. Art. Selden.

† Much Ado About Nothing, act 1.

mances were. 7. Historye of Kyng Richard Ceur de Lyon. [Impr. W. de Worde, 1528.] His exploits were a favourite subject, and many legends were written about him, partly on account of his fondness for chivalry; for he was the first king of England that ever published a precept or permission for holding public tournaments in England. His first instrument of this kind I have * printed above, [pag. 42. vol. i.] by which it appears, that these institutions brought in a considerable revenue to the crown. 8. Syr Bevis of Southampton †; in the same verse as Syr Degore, &c. viz.

* It is also printed in Selden's England's Epinomis, op. vol. iii. p. 35. fol. 1726. And Kennet's Paroch. Antiq. pag. 153. It is in MSS. Bib. Bodl. James. No. 27. But Gul. Neubrigiensis says, that the first use, though not royal permission, of these exercises, was in the reign of Stephen. Hist. Lib. v. c. 4. See Matth. Par. 237 post Hoveden. p. 424.

† The French have also this romance, which they call Beuves de Hanton. He was Earl of Southampton, about the Norman invasion. His sword was kept in Arundel castle.

Such a stroke was not sene in no land
Sithens Oliver died and Rowland *.

But I have given a long passage from it, above; [pag. 70. seq. vol. i.] 9. The Battayl of Egyngcourte. [Agincourt.] 10. The Wyf lapped in Morells Skin, Or, The Taming of a Shrew. Hence we perceive,

* This metre came from the French; but they called the French language Romance. This is what Robert de Brunne means, in his translation of Peter Langtoft's French Chronicle, published by Hearn.

Peres of Langtoft, a chanoun
Schaven in the house of Brydlyngtoune,
On Romaunce al thys story he wrote,
Of English kynges as well he wote.

Pag. 36. v. 1. Pref.

i. e. he wrote it in French.

See an account, and many specimens, of French Romans, in a curious Memoir, viz. "Discours sur quelques anciens Poetes, et sur quelques Romans Gaulois, peu connus; par M. Galland." Mem. de Lit. Amsterdam, 1719. 12mo. tom. iii. pag. 424. These are pieces not mentioned by La Croix du Maine and Fauchet. Among others there is the Roman of Troy, and the Roman of [Syr] Percivall, one of Spenser's knights. There is also, Le Roman de Fortune et de Felicitè, which is a translation of Bœthius, De Consolatione, into verse.

how Shakespeare adopted the titles of pieces which were popular and common in his time. This too shews his track of reading. 11. Thirteen merry Jests of the Wydow Edyth. 12. The Temple of Glass. [of Lydgate.] Spenser, I believe, might have this piece in his eye, where he describes the lovers in the Temple of Venus. 4. 10. 43. &c. There are several other pieces of the same sort in this collection.

We learn from the following passage in Skelton, who wrote in the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. what books and stories were then the delight of English readers, and the fashion of the times.

— — I can rede and spell
Of the Tales of Canterbury,
Some sad stories, some merry;
As Palemon and Arcet,
Duke Theseus and Partelet;
And of the Wife of Bath — —
And though that red have I
Of Gawen and Syr Guy,

And tell can a grete pece
Of the golden flese,
How Jason it wan
Like a valiant man.
Of Arthur's round table,
With his knights commendable;
How dame Gaynour his queen,
Was somewhat wanton, I ween;
How Syr Lancelot du Lake
Many a spear brake,
For his ladies sake:
Of Triston and King Marke,
And all the whole warke
Of Bel Isold his wife. — —
And of Syr Libius, [Libeaux]
Named Dioscorius:
Of quater fils Aymund,
And how they were sommond
To Rome to Charlemagne *,
Upon a greet payne;

---

* The entire history of Charlemagne was first imported into England by Caxton, who printed the Hystory and Lyf of the most noble and cristen prince, Charles the Great, Kyng of Fraunce, and Emperor of Rome, &c. 1485. In this book, besides those of Charlemagne, we have the achievements of Richard of Normandy, Rowland and Oliver, the Four Sons of Aymon, &c. It consists of three parts; and was compiled by the transla-

And how they rode eche one,
On * Bayard Mountalbon. — —
What though I can frame
The storyes by name,
Of Judas Machabæus,
And of Cæsar Julius;
And of the love between
Paris and Viene†:
And of Duke Hanyball. — —
And though I can expound
Of Hector of Troye. — —

---

tor, Caxton, from two French books, by the advice of Henry Bolounyer, canon of Lausanne. The first and third part were drawn from a book which he calls Myrrour Historyall; the second from an old French romance. Lewis, in his Life of Caxton, pag. 97. mentions a history of Charlemagne, written in French, by Christiana of Pisa, 1404.

* A horse famous in romance, belonging to Reynaldo of Montauban.

† A romance printed by Caxton, viz. Thystorye of the noble, right valyant, and worthy Knight Parys, and of the fayre Vyenne, the Daulphyns Doughter of Vyennoys; the which sufferd many adversyties, because of their true love, &c. fol. 1485. It is translated from the French. The Dauphin is Sir Godfrey of Alaunson, cousin to Charles, King of France, 1271.

And of the love so hote
That made Troylus to dote
Upon faire Creseide*, &c. — —

In the account of Queen Elizabeth's entertainment at Kenelworth Castle, quoted above†, the curious reader may find a catalogue of several old pieces in the romantic and humourous kind. Hall, Bishop of Norwich, in his Satires, published in 1597, mentions the following favourite stories.

No man his threshold better knowes, than I
Brute's first arrival, and first victory:
St. George's sorell, or his crosse of blood,
Arthur's round board, or Caledonian wood:

---

* The story of Troilus and Cressida became very popular from Chaucer's poem on the subject. He took it from Lollius, an historiographer of Urbino in Italy.

As write mine auctour, callid Lollius.
Tr. and Cr. i. 390.

Lollius is honoured with a niche in the House of Fame, iii. 380. as one of the writers of the Trojan story.

† Pag. 41. vol. i.

Or holie battles of bold Charlemayne,
What were * his knights did Salem's siege maintayne:
How the mad rival † of faire Angelice,
Was physick'd for the new-found paradise;
High stories they, &c ‡.

B. i. c. xii. s. xxxix.

— — — Many an angels voice,
Singing before th' eternall majestie
In their trinall triplicities on hie.

Thus in An Hymne of Heavenly Love; of angels,

There they, in their trinal triplicities,
About him wait. — — — —

The image of the angels waiting in their trinal triplicities, puts me in mind of a passage in Milton's Lycidas, where the pointing seems to be wrong.

* Godfrey of Bulloigne, the subject of Tasso's Jerusalem.

† Orlando, in Ariosto.

‡ B. vi. sat. 1.

There entertain him all the saints above,
In solemn troops, and sweet societies,
Who sing, and singing in their glory move.

According to the present punctuation, the sense is, " The saints who are in solemn troops, and sweet societies, entertain him;" or, entertain him in [among] their solemn troops, and sweet societies: but if the comma was struck off after societies, another and more beautiful meaning would be introduced, viz. " The saints who sing in solemn troops and sweet societies, entertain him, &c."

B. ii. c. iii. s. xxiv.

Of Belphæbe speaking,

And twixt the pearles and rubies softly brake
A silver sound. — — — —

Thus in Sonnet 81.

But fairest she, when so she doth display
The gate with pearles, and rubies richly dight,
Thro' which her words so wise do make their way.

Ariosto gives us pearls and corall for the lips and teeth.

Che da i coralli, e da le pretiose
Perle uscir fanno i dolci accenti mozzi *.

The corall and the perle by nature wrought.
HARRINGTON.

This is common in the Italian poets.

B. ii. c. iii. s. xxv.

Upon her eyelids many graces sate
Under the shadow of her even browes.

In Sonnet 40.

When on each eye-lid sweetly doe appeare
And hundred graces as in shade sit.

* C. xii. s. ult.

And in a verse of his * pageants preserved by E. K †.

An hundred graces on her eye-lids sate.

Which he drew from a modern Greek poem ascribed to Musæus.

— — — — — — — Οι δε παλαιοι
Τρεις χαριτας ψευσανιο πεφυκεναι. ΕΙΣ δε ΤΙΣ Ηρης
ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΣ γελοων ΕΚΑΤΟΝ ΧΑΡΙΤΕΣΣΙ τεθηλει ‡.

---

* The following passage from Sir T. More's English Works, Rastall, London, 1557, may perhaps give the reader some idea of the nature of our poet's pageants.

" Mayster Thomas More in hys youth devysed in hys fathers house in London, a goodly hangyng of fyne paynted clothe, with nyne pageauntes, and verses over every one of these pageauntes: which verses expressed and declared, what the ymages in those pageauntes represented: and also in those pageauntes were paynted, the thynges that the verses over them dyd (in effecte) declare."

† Notes on June.

‡ Ver. 63.

In the Hymne of Heavenly Love we find a thousand graces.

> Sometimes upon her forehead they behold
> A thousand graces masking in delight.

But the thought of the graces sitting under the shade of her eyebrows, is more exactly like what Tasso says of Cupid.

> — — Sotto al ombra
> De le palpebre*.
>
> B. i. c. xii. s. lxvii.

> And the ivorie in golden mantle gownd.

Thus in the Epithalamion,

> Her long loose yellow lockes — — —
> * * * * * * * * *
> Doe like a golden mantle her attire.

It is remarkable, that Spenser's females both in the Faerie Queene and in his other

* Aminta, att. iii. sc. 1.

poems, are all described with yellow hair. And in his general description of the influence of beauty over the bravest men, he particularises golden tresses.

> And mighty hands forgett their manlinesse,
> Drawn with the power of an hart-robbing eye,
> And wrapt in fetters of a golden tresse.
>
> 5. 8. 1.

This is said in compliment to his mistress*, or to Queen Elizabeth, who had both yellow hair; or perhaps in imitation of the Italian poets, who give most of their women tresses of this colour. With regard to the Queen, Melvil, a minute and critical observer, informs us, that "She delighted to shew her golden-colored hair, wearing a caul and bonnet, as they do in Italy. Her hair was more reddish than yellow, curled in appearance naturally†." In the Pastoral, April, we have the following verses.

* See 6. 10. 12. 16. Sonn. xv. and Epith. v. 154.

† Melvil's Memoirs, pag. 49.

The red-rose meddled with the white yfere
In either cheek depeinten lively chere.

This is said of Syrinx, or Queen Elizabeth, the daughter of Pan, or Henry VIII. E. K. observes, that Spenser here alludes to the union of the houses of Lancaster and York, the white and red rose: the two families being united in Henry VIII. the Queen's father. This was partly meant; but his chief intention was, at the same time, to pay a compliment to the Queen's complexion, which was remarkably delicate, though rather inclining to pale. There is a Sonnet of Lord Brooke, to this purpose.

Under a throne I saw a virgin sit,
The red and white rose quarter'd in her face *.

How susceptible this admired heroine was of the most absurd flattery paid to her person, may be seen from many curious proofs,

* Sonnet lxxi. pag. 228. Workes, &c. 1633. 4to.

collected by Mr. Walpole *. The present age sees her charms and her character in their proper colours!

B. iii. c. i. s. xxxvi.

Of Venus while Adonis was bathing.

And throw into the well sweet rosemaries,
And fragrant violets and pancies trim,
And ever with sweet nectar she did sprinkle him.

Thus in his Prothalamion,

Then forth they all out of their basketts drew
Great store of flowres the honour of the field,
That to the sence did fragrant odours yield;
All which upon those goodlie birds they threw,
And all the waves did strew;
That like old Peneus waters they did seeme,
When down along by Tempe's pleasant shore,
Scatter'd with flowres thro' Thessaly they streame.

---

* Royal and Noble Authors. ed. 2. Lond. 1759. vol. i. pag. 141. See more compliments to the Queen's beauty, in the pastoral cited above. She was then forty-five years old. This, however, was more allowable in a poem.

To these we may add,

— — — — — And ever as the crew
About her daunst, swett flowres that far did smell,
And fragrant odours they upon her threw.
6. 10. 14.

The circumstance of throwing flowers into the water, is not unlike what Milton says of Sabrina's stream.

— — The shepherds, at their festivals,
Carol her goodness lowd in rustic layes,
And throw sweet garland-wreaths into her streame,
Of pancies, pinks, and gaudy daffadils *.

Statius introduces Love and the Graces sprinkling Stella and Violantilla, on their wedding-night, with flowers and odours.

— Nec blandus Amor, nec Gratia cessat,
Amplexum virides optatæ conjugis artus,
Floribus innumeris, & olenti spargere thymbra †.

---

* Comus, v. 848.
Epithalam. Sylv. b. i. ii. v. 19.

And in another place he speaks of Venus pouring the fragrance of Amomum over Earinus in great abundance; a circumstance not much unlike that just mentioned concerning Venus and Adonis.

— — Hunc multo Paphie saturabat amomo *.

B. iii. c. vii. s. xvi.

Of the witches son, who falls in love with Florimel.

Oft from the forrest wildings he did bring,
Whose sides empurpled were with smiling red;
And oft young birds, which he had taught to sing
His mistresse prayses sweetly caroled:
Girlands of flowres sometimes for her faire head
He fine would dight; sometimes the squirrel wild
He brought to her in bands, &c.

Such presents as these are made by Coridon to Pastorell.

* Com. barin. Sylv. l. iii. iv. ver. 82.

And oft when Coridon unto her brought,
Or little sparrows stolen from their nest,
Or wanton squirrels in the woods farre sought.
6. 9. 40.

B. i. c. ix. s. xxiv.

— — — — — — Staring wide
With stoney eyes, and hartlesse hollow hewe,
Astonisht stood, as one that had espide
Infernal furies with their chains untide.

Spenser often expresses fear, or surprise, in this manner.

— — — — — — As one affright
With hellish fiends, or furies mad uprore.
2. 5. 37.

— — — — — The stoney feare
Ran to his heart, and all his sense dismayd,
Ne thenceforth life, ne courage did appeare,
But as a man whom hellish fiends have frayd,
Trembling long time he stood.
2. 8. 46.

— — Oft out of her bed she did astart,
As one with view of gastly fiends affright.
3. 2. 29.

Ne wist he what to thinke, or to devise,
But like as one whom fiends have made afraid,
He long astonisht stood: ne ought he said,
Ne ought he did; but with fast-fixed eyes
He gazed still upon that snowy maid.

5. 3. 18.

From the passages already alleged, and from some others which I shall produce, it will appear that Spenser particularly excels in painting affright, confusion, and astonishment.

Abessa's affright at seeing the Lion and Una.

Full fast she fled, ne ever lookt behind,
* * * * * * * * * * *
And home she came, where as her mother blind
Sate in eternall night; nought could shee say,
But suddaine catching hold, did her dismay,
With quaking hands, and other signs of feare;
Who full of gastly fright, and cold dismay,
Gan shut the dore. —— ——

1. 3. 12.

The behaviour of Abessa and Corceca,

when Kirkrapine was torn in pieces by the Lion.

His fearful friends weare out the wofull night,
Ne dare to weepe, nor seeme to understande
The heavy hap, which on them is alight,
Afraid lest to themselves the like mishappen might.
1. 3. 20.

Despaire has just persuaded the Red-crosse knight to kill himself. 1. 9. 48.

The knight was much enmoved with his speach,
That as a swords point thro' his hart did pearce,
And in his conscience made a secret breach,
Well-knowing true all that he did reherse,
And to his fresh remembrance did reverse
The uglie hue of his deformed crimes,
That all his manly powres it did disperse,
As he were charmed with inchanted rimes,
That oftentimes he quakt, and fainted oftentimes.

xlix.

In which amazement, when the miscreant
Perceived him to waver weake and fraile,
Whiles trembling horror did his conscience dart,
And hellish anguish did his soule assaile;

To drive him to despaire, and quite to quaile,
He shew'd him painted in a table plaine
The damned ghosts that do in torments waile,
And thousand fiends that do them endlesse paine
With fire and brimstone, which for ever shall remaine.

l.

The sight whereof so throughly him dismaid,
That nought but death before his eyes he saw,
And ever-burning wrath before him laid,
By righteous sentence of th' Almightie's law;
Then 'gan the villaine him to overawe,
And brought unto him swords, ropes, poyson, fire,
And all that might him to perdition draw,
And bade him chuse what death he would desire,
For death was due to him, that had provokt gods ire.

li.

But when as none of them he saw him take,
He to him raught a dagger sharpe and keene,
And gave it him in hand; his hand did quake,
And tremble like a leaf of aspine greene:
And troubled blood through his pale face was seene
To come and goe, with tydings from the hart,
As it a running messenger had beene;
At last, resolv'd to work his final smart
He lifted up his hand, that back againe did start.

Experience proves, that we best paint

what we have felt most. Spenser's whole life seems to have consisted of disappointments and distress. These miseries, the warmth of his imagination, and, what was its consequence, his sensibility of temper, contributed to render doubly severe. Unmerited and unpitied indigence ever struggles hardest with true genius; and a refined taste, for the same reasons that it enhances the pleasures of life, adds uncommon torture to the anxieties of that state, " in which," says an incomparable moralist, " Every virtue is obscured, and in which no conduct can avoid reproach; a state in which cheerfulness is insensibility, and dejection sullenness; of which the hardships are without honour, and the labours without reward."

To these may be added his personage Fear.

Next him was Fear all arm'd from top to toe,
Yet thought himselfe not safe enough thereby;
But fear'd each shadow moving to and fro;
And his owne armes when glittering he did spy,

Or clashing heard, he fast away did fly,
As ashes pale of hew, and wingy-heel'd;
And evermore on Danger fix'd his eye,
'Gainst whom he alwaies bent a brazen shield,
Which his right hand unarmed fearfully did wield.
3. 12. 12.

Again,

When Scudamour those heavy tydings heard
His hart was thrild with point of deadly feare,
Ne in his face, or blood or life appear'd,
But senselesse stood, like to amazed steare
That yet of mortal stroke the stound doth beare.
4. 6. 37.

A priest of Isis, after having heard the dream of Britomart.

Like to a weake faint-harted man he fared,
Through great astonishment of that strange sight;
And with long locks upstanding stiffly stared,
Like one adawed with some dreadfull spright.
5. 7. 20.

Other instances of this sort might be cited; but these are the most striking.

It is proper to remark, in this place, that

Spenser has given three large descriptions, much of the same nature, viz. The Bower of Bliss, 2. 12. The Gardens of Adonis, 3. 5. And the Gardens of the Temple of Venus, 4, 10. All which, though in general the same, his invention has diversified with many new circumstances; as it has likewise his Mornings: and perhaps we meet with no poet who has more frequently, or more minutely at the same time, delineated the Morning than Spenser. He has introduced two historical genealogies of future kings and princes of England, 3. 3. and 2. 10. Besides two or three other shorter sketches of English history. He often repeatedly introduces his allegorical figures, which he sometimes describes with very little variation from his first representation; particularly, Disdain, Fear, Envy, and Danger. In this poem we likewise meet with two hells, 1. 5. 31. and 2. 7. 21.

It may not be foreign to the purpose of this section, to lay before the reader some uncommon words and expressions, of which Spenser, by his frequent use, seems particularly fond.

B. ii. c. v. s. xxxii.

That round about him dissolute did *play*
Their wanton follies, and light merriment.

Spenser often uses the verb *play*, in this sense, with an accusative case,

A multitude of babes about her hong,
Playing their sports. — — —
1. 10. 31.

— — — — The fry of children young
Their wanton sports, and childish mirth did *play*.
1. 12. 7.

Then do the salvage beasts begin to *play*
Their pleasant friskes. — — —
4. 10. 46.

But like to angels *playing* heavenly toyes.
4. 10. 42.

— — *Playing* his childish sport.

5. 1. 6.

How Mutability in them doth *play*
Her cruel sports. — — —

7. 6. 1.

And in An Hymne of Love.

There, with thy daughter Pleasure, they do *play*
Their hurtless sports. — — —

To these we may add,

— — — — — — Did *sport*
Their spotlesse pleasure, and sweet love's content.

4. 10. 26.

We find *play* used after this manner in Milton.

— — — — — For nature here
Wanton'd as in her prime, and *play'd* at will
Her virgin fancies*. —— ——

Play is not at present used *arbitrarily* with *any* accusative case. But perhaps [I] have refined in some of these instances.

* Par. Lost. v. v. 295.

B. i. c. ii. s. xliii.

— In this misformed house.

Spenser often arbitrarily prefixes *mis* to word, viz. misfeigning, 1. 3. 40. misdiet, 1. 4. 23. misaymed, 1. 8. 8. misborne, 1. 5. 42. misdoubted, 4. 2. 23. mischallenge, 4. 3. 11. misconceit, and misfare, 4. 6. 2. misregard, 4. 8. 29. misthought, 4. 8. 58. mistrained, 5. 11. 54. misfell, 6. 5. 10. misdoubtfull, 5. 6. 3. misdight, 5. 7. 37. misdesert, 6. 1. 12. misgotten, 6. 1. 18. miscreated, 2. 7. 42. I have been the more prolix in collecting these instances, in order to justify a very happy conjecture of Dr. Jortin *, without which it will be difficult to make sense of a passage in our author, viz.

Some like to hounds, some like to apes *dismayd*.
2. 11. 11.

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* Remarks, pag. 69.

That commentator proposes to read *mis-made* i. e. *ill-shaped;* an alteration which we cannot reject, when we consider the liberties Spenser took in adding *mis* to a word. He probably sent it to the press *mismayd,* that it might rhyme more exactly, and that Spenser was very exact in this point, I have before endeavoured to prove, with *assayd,* and *arrayd;* but the compositors were better acquainted with *dismayd,* which they accordingly adopted. Chaucer has many words with *mis* prefixed.

B. ii. c. iv. s. xliv.

— — — — When Rancour rife
Kindles revenge, and threats his *rustie* knife.

So,

— — — [armed] Some with long speares,
Some *rustie* knives. — — —
2. 9. 18.

Bitter Despight, with Rancour's *rustie* knife.
1. 4. 35.

[A wound]

In which a *rustie* knife long time had fixed stood.
1. 9. 36.

And of Danger.

A net in th' one hand, and a *rustie* blade
In th' other was. — — — —
3. 12. 11.

The steeds of Night are thus described.

Their *rustie* bits did champ. ——
1. 5. 20.

The word *rustie* seems to have conveyed the idea of somewhat very loathsome and horrible to our author. In Virgil's Gnat he applies it to horror.

Nor those same mournfull kingdoms compassed
With *rustie* horror.

I will hence take occasion to correct a passage in Chaucer, in his character of the Reve.

And by his side he bare a *rustie* blade *.

I do not perceive the consistency of the Reve's wearing a *rustie* sword; I should rather be inclined to think that the poet wrote *trustie* blade.

And by his side he bare a *trustie* blade.

But this alteration will perhaps be disapproved by those who recollect, that Chaucer, in another passage, has attributed the epithet *rusty* to the sword of Mars.

And in his hand he had a *rousty* sword †.

B. iii. c. i. s. lxii.

And to her weapon ran; in mind to *gride*
The loathed leachour. — — —.

Spenser frequently uses *gride*, which signifies to *pierce*. This word, as E. K. remarks in the Pastoral, Februarie, is often

* Prolog. v. 620. † Test. of Cressida. 188.

used by Lidgate, but never once by Chaucer. Spenser was familiarly versed in all our ancient English bards; but I do not remember that he pays a compliment to any of them, Chaucer excepted *, and the † author of Pierce Plowman's Visions.

Gride is found in the following passages.

— Through his thigh the mortall steele did *gride*.
2. 8. 36.

—— —— Whose love hath *gryde*
My feeble breast. —— ——
3. 2. 37.

—— —— An arrow —— ——
—— —— —— Secretly did glide
Into his heart, which it did sorely *gride*.
3. 9. 29.

Such was the wound that Scudamour did *gride*.
4. 6. 1.

All as I were through the body *gride* ‡.

* Passim. † Epilogue to the Æglogues.
‡ Februarie.

Therewith my soul was sharpely *gride* *.

— — A serpent — — —
With brandisht tongue the emptie ayre did *gride* †.

Milton probably adopted this old word from our author.

The *griding* sword with discontinuous wound
Pass'd through him ‡. ——

B. ii. c. iii. s. xxv.

That was ambition, rash desire to *stie*.

The lexicograpers inform us, that *stie* signifies to *soar*, to *ascend*; so that the sense of the verse before us, is, " That was ambition, which is a rash desire of still ascending upwards."

Stie occurs again often.

Thought with his wings to *stie* above the ground.
1. 11. 25.

* August. † Virg. Gnat. ‡ Par. Lost. vi. 329.

—— A storm — — —
Long here and there, and round about doth *stie.*
4. 9. 33.

— — — Love can higher *stie*
Than reason's reach. — — —
3. 2. 36.

That from this lower tract he dar'd to *stie*
Up to the cloudes *.

Whilst in the smoke she unto heaven did *stie* †.

With bolder wing shall dare aloft to *sty*
To the last praises of this Faerie Queene ‡.

This word occurs in Chaucer's Testament of Love. " Ne steyrs to *stey* one is none §." Where it is used actively, " to lift one up." Gower has used this word in the preter-imperfect tense, but neutrally.

* Muipotmos.
† Vis. of Bellay. st. 11.
‡ Sonnet to the Earl of Essex.
§ Pag. 480. Urry's edit.

And or Christe went out of this erthe here,
And *stighed* to heven *. ——

B. i. c. ii. s. iii.

— — — Death is an equall doome
To good and bad, the common *Inne* of rest.

Inne for *Habitation, Seat,* or *Recess,* is much used by Spenser. In his age this word had not acquired the vulgar idea which it bears in modern language.

The Bowre of Blisse.

The worldes sweet *Inne* from paine and wearisom turmoyle.

2. 12. 32.

He shall his dayes with peace bring to his earthly *Inne.*

3. 3. 29.

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* John Gower unto the noble K. Henry IV. v. 177. Spenser has himself interpreted the word, in his State of Ireland, *stie,* quasi *stay,* in mounting.

† December.

And where the chanting birds lull'd me asleepe,
The ghastly owle her grievous *Inne* doth keepe *.

Innholders is likewise used for inhabitants.

I do possesse the worlds most regiment,
And if ye please it into parts divide,
And every parts *Inholders* to convent.
7. 7. 17.

B. i. c. xii. s. xxxix.

Driven by *fatall* error. — —

That is, "driven by error ordained by the Fates."

Again,

At last by *fatall* course they driven were.
3. 9. 4.

Nor lesse she feared that same *fatall* read.
4. 12. 27.

That is, "that same decree of the Fates."

Or did his life her *fatall* date expire.
2. 8. 24.

That is, "her date assigned by the Fates."

* December.

— — — — — Either *fatall* end,
Or other mighty cause, us two did hither send.

That is, " some end which the Fates intend to accomplish."

Fatalis has sometimes the same signification as Spenser's *fatal.*

So Virgil,

Fatalem Æneam manifesto numine ferri *.

And in other places of the Æneid.

B. vi. c. vii. s. xix.

The whiles his salvage page that wont be *prest.*

Prest is very frequently used by Spenser: in some places it signifies *ready* or *quick;* in others it seems to be used adverbially, for *quickly, immediately.* It is plainly the old French word, *Preste, quick,* or *nimble,* which

* Æn. xi. v. 232.

Neither was fowle, that commeth of engendrure,
That there ne was *prest* in her presence *.

That is, " that was not present before her."

This word is to be met with in most of our old English poets, particularly Lord Surrey, Wyat, Tuberville, &c. Harrington much uses it in his Ariosto †.

B. vii. c. vi. s. xxviii.

Like a *sort* of steeres. — — —

Sort occurs perpetually in Spenser for *flock, troop, company,* &c.

And like a *sort* of bees in clusters swarmed.
5. 4. 36.

That is, " a swarm."

* Assemble of Fowles.

† See Junii Etymolog. Where also what I have observed of *Endlong, Charmes, Herse, Lair, Sty,* may be improved from what is said of *Along, Chirme, Chirre, Hearse, Laire, Stay,* by the author, and his learned editor Mr. Lye.

But like a *sorte* of sheepe. — —

5. 4. 44.

That is, " a flock."

And all about her altar scattered lay
Great *sortes* of lovers. — —

4. 10. 43.

That is, " a great number, a large assembly of, &c."

A *sort* of shepherd-groomes. — —

6. 9. 5.

That is, " a company of shepherds."

A *sorte* of shepherds sewing of the chace.

That is, " a company of shepherds hunting."

It is not unfrequent in Harrington's Ariosto. We find it in the Psalms, where few, perhaps, understand its true sense.— " How long will ye imagine mischief against every man? Ye shall be slain all the *sort*

of you*." i. e. Your whole *company* or multitude shall be slain. The septuagint render it, Εως ποτ' επιλιθεσθε επ' ανθρωπον; Φονευσετε ΠΑΝΤΕΣ.

But I forbear proceeding any further in a subject most happily pre-occupied, and which will be discussed with so much superior learning and penetration by a writer who intends shortly to oblige his country with a dictionary of its language†: a work for which he is unquestionably qualified, as we may judge from a series of essays, in which not only criticism, humour, and morality have appeared with new lustre, but from which the English language has received new grace, spirit, and dignity.

* Psal. lxii. 3.

† This was written just before the publication of Johnson's dictionary. See his Rambler for the rest.

SECT. IX.

Mr. Upton's Opinion, concerning several Passages in this Poem, examined.

As that part of criticism which consists in rectifying the doubtful readings, and explaining the more obscure passages, of ancient authors, necessarily deals much in conjecture; and as those who are employed in this province are often tempted to deduce their determinations, not from what is, but what seems to be, the truth; no disquisition affords a greater diversity of sentiments concerning the same thing. It is here that we see the force of mere opinion, unsupported by demonstration, in its full extent; while

the lucky corrections and illustrations of one commentator appear improbable and absurd to the more sagacious eyes of another. Under these considerations, I hope the mistakes I may have committed in departing from the sentiments of a learned and ingenious critic*, will be received with candour and indulgence.

B. i. c. i. s. xliii.

A fit false dream that can delude the sleepers' sent.

Mr. Upton proposes to read sleepers *shent*, i. e. sleepers *ill-treated* or *abused*. But I rather think, that we should preserve the common reading, *sent*, which is the proper and original spelling of *scent*. *Sent*, says Skinner, which we falsely write *scent*, is derived

* None of Mr. Upton's criticisms on our author, but such as occur in his Letter to G. West, &c. and Observations on Shakespeare, are here considered.

*a sentiendo**. Thus the meaning of this verse is, " A false dream that could deceive or impose upon the sleeper's perception," So that *sent*, if we consider its *radix*, *sentio*, is here plainly made to signify *perception in general*. *Scent* is often thus spelt in our author.

— At *sent* of stranger-guest —
4. 6. 41.

— Through his perfect *sent*. —
3. 7. 22.

— Of sundry *sent* and hewe. —
7. 7. 10.

Scent is often thus written by Milton, in the genuine editions; and, as Dr. Newton observes, with great propriety.

* Thus E. K. in the Epistle prefixed to our author's Pastorals. " So Marot, Sanazzari, and also diverse other excellent both Italian and French poets, whose footing this author every where followeth: yet so as few, but they be well *sented*, can follow him."

The season prime for sweetest *scents* and airs *.

— — — — — The *sent*
Of that alluring fruit †.

— — — — — Such a *sent* I drew
Of carnage ‡. —

— With *sent* of living carcasses §.

I confess that *sent* is somewhat harsh in this sense: but what will not rhyme oblige the poet to say?

B. i. c. ii. s. xix.

And at his haughtie helmet making mark,
So hugely strooke, that it the steele did rive,
And rent his head; he tumbling downe *alive*,
With bloody mouth his mother earth did kiss,
Greeting his grave; his grudging ghost did strive
With the fraile flesh; at last it flitted is,
Whither the soules, &c.

Mr. Upton would alter *alive*, in the third

* Paradise Lost, ix. 200.
† Ibid. ix. 587.
‡ Ibid. x. 267.
§ Ibid. x. 277.

verse, to *biltve*, i. e. *immediately*: for, says he, did he tumble down *alive* after his head was cleft asunder*? Without entering into an anatomical disquisition concerning the possibility of living after such a blow; we may remark, that the poet himself intimates o us, that he fell down *alive*, and did not die till after his fall, in these lines,

— — His *grudging* ghost did strive
With the fraile flesh; at last it flitted is.

The same commentator would enforce and confirm the justness of this correction, by remarking, that the poet, in these verses, copied from Virgil,

Procubuit *moriens*, et *humum* semel ore *momordit*.

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* Such a question reminds one of Burmannus's note on the *gemitu* of the dying Turnus, in the last verse of the Æneid. " Illustrat hunc *gemitum* R. Titius; et de illo sono, et *rauco murmure* quod ex occlusa vocali arteria editur, explicat."

Where the word *moriens* doth not imply, that the man who fell down was dead. I must confess, that *alive* is superfluous; but Spenser has run into many other superfluities, on account of his repetition of the same rhyme. Mr. Upton proposes likewise to write Earth [*his mother Earth*] with an initial capital, supposing it a *Person*; however, we had, perhaps, better suppose it a *Thing*: for if we understand it to be a *Person*, what an absurd mixture arises?

— — His mother *Earth* did kiss,
Greeting his *grave*. — —

Grave cannot be referred to *Earth* as a *Person*, but very properly to *Earth* as a *Thing*. However, it must be confessed that this is such an absurd mixture as Spenser was very likely to have fallen into; and we have numberless instances of this fault, in his account of the rivers which attended the marriage of Thames and Medway, 4. 11.

where god and river, that is, person and thing, are often indiscriminately put the one for the other.

Horace, in one line, affords a concise and apposite exemplification of the fault here imputed to Spenser.

Sic tauriformis *volvitur* Aufidus.

Ovid in the speech of the Earth, forgets the personification, and makes her talk of being *ploughed*, *raked*, and *harrowed*.

— — — Adunci vulnera aratri,
Rastrorumque fero, totoque exerceor anno *.

B. xxiii. c. iv. s. i.

And a *dry Dropsie* through his flesh did flow.

How can a Dropsy *flow*, says Mr. Upton, if it be *dry*? He proposes to remove this contradiction by reading *dire* Dropsy, the

* Metam. ii. ver. 286.

dirus Hydrops of Horace. But it is plain, that *dry Dropsie* is the species of the Dropsy so called, the *dry Dropsy* or *Tympanites;* which Spenser has inaccurately confounded with the other species of the Dropsy, and which may not improperly be said to *flow through the flesh;* not considering the inconsistency of making a *dry* thing *flow.* As to Mr. Upton's correction *dire,* I cannot perceive how *dire* could be easily mistaken by the compositors for *dry.* Mr. Upton might, with equal propriety, have objected to the following words, *dry Drops.*

> And with *dry drops* congealed in her eye.
> 2. 1. 49.

By the way, it will be difficult also to determine what Spenser means by *congealed,* which occurs again in the same sense, and on the same occasion,

> — — — — In whose faire eye
> The crystal humour stood *congealed* round.
> 3. 5. 29.

But upon supposition that the tears were actually frozen in her eye, we should think *dry* a very odd epithet for ice.

To return: By *dry* Dropsie, may not the poet also mean, a Dropsie, which is the *cause* of thirst?

B. i. c. iv. s. xlii.

Him little answer'd th' angry elfin knight.

Mr. Upton reads,

Him angry — — —

Him angry, says Mr. Upton, means the Paynim, who is said to be *enraged* above,

Pardon the error of *enraged* wight.

S. 41.

But because the Paynim is angry, does it necessarily follow that the elfin knight should not be so too? He certainly has reason to

be *enraged* and *angry* after that insult which provokes him to throw down his gauntlet, as a challenge. It is surely wrong to alter the text, when there is neither necessity to require, nor authority to support, the correction.

B. i. c. v. s. v.

On th' other side in all mens open view
Duessa placed is, and on a tree
Sans foy his shield is hang'd with bloody hew,
Both those the lawrell garlands to the victor dew.

Mr. Upton thus reads the last line,

Both those *and th'* lawrel garlands to the victor due.

But surely Duessa, and Sans foy his shield, are the laurel garlands, that is, the rewards to be given to the conqueror. Laurel garlands are metaphorically used, and put in apposition with Duessa, and Sans foy his shield. It may be urged, as another objection to Mr. Upton's alteration, that Spenser

never cuts off the vowel in *the* before a consonant; upon which account I would reject Hughes's reading of the following line.

> The Nemæan forest 'till th' Amphitryonide. —
> 7. 7. 36.

That editor reads,

> *Th'* Nemæan — — —

Indeed there was no necessity of this elision, unless Spenser had written *Nemæean;* for *Nemæan,* with a dipthong, is plainly misprinted for *Nemean.* *Nemeus* occurs often.

In Virgil,

> — — Vastum *Nemea* sub rupe Leonem *.

In Prudentius,

> — — *Nemea* sub pelle fovere
> Concubitus †. — — —

---

* Æn. viii. 295. † Adv. Sym. l. 1.

Nemea occurs in Statius. "*Nemeæ* frondentis Alumnus*." This place was sometimes called Νεμεος, and sometimes Νεμεαιος, but never Νεμαιος. But if Spenser had really by mistake written *Nemæan*, he would not have scrupled to have made the second syllable, though a dipthong, short; for he frequently violates the accents of proper names, &c.

In another place he writes it thus.

Into the great *Nemean* lyons grove.
5. 1. 6. Introd.

B. ii. c. v. s. xxii.

— — — — — A flaming fier-brond,
Which she in Stygian lake, *aye burning* bright,
Had kindled. — — —

Mr. Upton, upon supposition that we refer *aye burning* to *Fier-brond*, does not ap-

* Sylv. Lib. i. iii. v. 6.

prove of reading *aye-burning*, but *y-burning*. He is unwilling to join *ay* (or *y*) *burning* to *Stygian lake;* for, says he, the lake of brimstone burned not *bright*, but only served to make *darkness visible*. I allow, that Milton's idea of this lake was, that it served to make *darkness visible* *. But might not Spenser's idea of the Stygian lake be different from Milton's?

The poet has given us the same image and allegory in another place.

Firebrand of hell, first tind in Phlegethon
By thousand furies. — — —

4. 2. 1.

B. iii. c. ii. s. iii.

But ah! my rhymes too rude and rugged are,
When in so high an object they do lighte,
And striving fit to *make*, I feare do *marre*.

---

* Par. Lost. b. i. ver. 63.

Mr. Upton remarks, that *make,* in this passage, signifies to *versify,* ΠΟΙΕΙΝ, *versus facere.* But there is reason to think, that *make* is here opposed to *marre,* in the same sense as it is in the following lines.

> Likewise unequal were her handes twaine,
> That one did reach the other pusht away,
> That one did *make,* the other *mard* again.
>
> 4. 1. 29.

Make and *marr* were thus used together, as it were proverbially, in our author's age. Thus Harrington, in his Ariosto,

> In vaine I seeke my duke's love to expound,
> The more I seeke to *make,* the more I *mard* *.

> Yes, answer'd Guidon, be I *made* or *mard* †.

> Ten years would hardly *make* that he wold *marr* ‡.

Thus also G. Tuberville, To the Countess of Warwick, Ann. 1570.

* v. 19. † xx. 52. ‡ xxx. 9.

Should *make* or *marre* as she saw cause.

And in these lines, from an old translation of Ovid, quoted by the author of the Arte of English Poesie. Medea of her children.

Was I not able to *make* them I pray you tell,
And am I not able to *marre* them as well *?

Again, in an old bombast play, ridiculed by Shakespeare, "And *make* and *marre* the foolish fates†." But it is needless to multiply examples; nor do I believe that the phrase is now quite obsolete in conversation.

The meaning, therefore, of the lines before us, is, "My verses are quite unpolished for so sublime a subject, so that I spoil or destroy, instead of producing or executing any thing great or perfect."

* B. iii. c. 19. † Midn. Dr. viii. 1. A. 4.

In the pastoral *June*, *make* is manifestly used in the sense *versify;* and for this we have, moreover, the testimony of E. K.

> The god of shepheards Tityrus is dead,
> Who taught me homely as I can to *make*.

Again, in Colin Clout's Come Home Again.

> Besides her peerlesse skill in *making* well,
> And all the ornaments of wondrous wit.

That is, Queen Elizabeth, whom in another place he calls a *peerlesse Poetesse* *.

Again,

> And hath he skill to *make* so excellent,
> Yet hath so little skill to bridle love †?

The author of the Arte of English Poesie generally uses *maker* for *poet*, ποιητης, and if we believe Sir J. Harrington, it was that author who first brought this expression, the

* Colin Clout, &c. † April.

significancy of which is much commended by Sir P. Sydney, and Jonson, into fashion about the age of Queen Elizabeth. " Nor to dispute how high and supernatural the name of a *Maker* is, so christned in English, by that unknowne godfather, that this last year save one, viz. 1589, set forth a booke called the Arte of English Poesie†." His name is Puttenham.

B. i. c. vii. s. xxiii.

But all of diamond perfect pure and *cleene.*

Mr. Upton proposes to read *shenne* instead of *cleene.* But if this alteration is necessary here, is it not likewise equally so in the following verses?

And that bright towre all built of crystall *cleene.*
1. 1. 58.

---

† Apology for Poesie, before Ariosto.

quent instances of knights swearing in this manner. The same ceremony occurs again,

— — — He made him sweare
By his own sword. — — —

6. 2. 43.

See also 6. 7. 13.

In another place, one of the knights swears by his knighthood; an oath which we likewise frequently meet with in romance.

— As he did on his knighthood sweare.

6. 3. 18.

B. ii. c. vi. s. v.

More swift than swallow *sheres* the liquid sky.

---

from the romance writers, by specifying only such romance writers as Heliodorus and Sydney, did not appear, at that time, to have had any notion of the *species* of romances in which Spenser was principally conversant, and which he chiefly copied: I mean the romances of the dark ages, founded on Saracen superstitions, and filled with giants, dwarfs, damsels, and enchanters.

The golden tressid Phœbus high on lofte
Thryis had with his bemis *clene* *,
The snowis molte †.

B. v. c. vii. s. xiv.

And swearing faith to eyther on his blade.

Mr. Upton observes, that we have here an instance of Spenser's learning, and that he makes his knights swear by their swords, agreeably to such a custom practised among the Goths and Hunns, and related by Jornandes, and Ammianus Marcellinus. But I am inclined to believe, that our author drew this circumstance from books that he was probably much better acquainted with, old romances ‡. In Morte Arthur we have fre-

* The printed copies read *clere*. But the poet manifestly wrôte *clene*, to make out the rhyme with *grene*, and *quene*; and *clene* is the reading in a manuscript of Troilus and Cressida, formerly belonging to Sir H. Spelman.

† Tr. and Cr. b. v. v. 9.

‡ Mr. Upton, [Letter to G. West, pag. 17. 19.] while he is professedly speaking of Spenser's imitations

Tile-shard is a common word in many parts of the kingdom. Shakespeare's *shard-born* beetle, means a beetle produced, or generated, among such fragments or broken pieces of refuse stuff; and is a fine stroke of that poet's accurate observation of nature.

SECT. X.

Of Spenser's Allegorical Character.

IN reading the works of a poet who lived in a remote age, it is necessary that we should look back upon the customs and manners which prevailed in that age. We should endeavour to place ourselves in the writer's situation and circumstances. Hence we shall become better enabled to discover how his turn of thinking, and manner of composing, were influenced by familiar appearances and established objects, which are utterly different from those with which we are at present surrounded. For want of this caution, too many readers view the knights

and damsels, the tournaments and enchantments, of Spenser, with modern eyes; never considering that the encounters of chivalry subsisted in our author's age; that romances were then most eagerly and universally studied; and that consequently Spenser, from the fashion of the times, was induced to undertake a recital of chivalrous achievements, and to become, in short, a *romantic* Poet.

Spenser, in this respect, copied real manners no less than Homer. A sensible historian observes, that "Homer copied true natural manners, which, however rough and uncultivated, will always form an agreeable and interesting picture: But the pencil of the English poet [Spenser] was employed in drawing the affectations, and conceits, and fopperies of chivalry *." This, however, was nothing more than an imitation of real

* Hume's Hist. of Engl. Tudor. vol. ii. 1759. p. 739.

life; as much, at least, as the plain descriptions in Homer, which corresponded to the simplicity of manners then subsisting in Greece. Spenser, in the address of the Shepherd's Kalendar, to Sir Philip Sydney, couples his patron's learning with his skill in chivalry; a topic of panegyric, which would sound very odd in a modern dedication, especially before a set of pastorals. "To the noble and virtuous gentleman, most worthy of all titles, both of Learning and *Chivalrie*, Master Philip Sydney."

Go, little booke; thyself present,
As child whose parent is unkent,
To him that is the president
Of noblenesse and *chivalrie* *.

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* Before the Shepherd's Kalendar. The *gallantries* of civilised chivalry, in particular, were never carried to a higher pitch than in the Queen's Court: of which, says our author, describing the *manners* of that court,

Ne any there doth brave or valiant seeme,
Unless that some gay mistresse badge he weare.

COLIN CLOUT'S COME HOME.

Nor is it sufficiently considered, that a popular practice of Spenser's age contributed, in a considerable degree, to make him an *allegorical* Poet. We should remember, that in this age allegory was applied as the subject and foundation of public shews and spectacles, which were exhibited with a magnificence superior to that of former times. The virtues and vices, distinguished by their respective emblematical types, were frequently personified and represented by living actors. These figures bore a chief part in furnishing what they called *pageaunts**;

* Spenser himself wrote a set of *Pageaunts*, which were descriptions of these feigned representations.

Cervantes, whose aim was to expose the abuses of imagination, seems to have left us a burlesque on pageantries, which he probably considered as an appendage of romance, partaking, in great measure, of the same chimerical spirit. This ridicule was perfectly consistent with the general plan and purpose of his comic history. See the masque at Chamacho's wedding, where Cupid, Interest, Poetry, and Liberality, are the personages. A castle is represented, called the Castle of Discretion,

which were then the principal species of entertainment, and were shewn, not only in private, or upon the stage, but very often in the open streets for solemnising public occasions, or celebrating any grand event. As a proof of what is here mentioned, I refer the reader to Hollinshed's * Description of the *Shew of Manhood and Desert*, exhibited at Norwich, before Queen Elizabeth; and more particularly to that historian's account of a *Turney* † performed by Fulke Grevile,

which Cupid attacks with his arrows; but Interest throws a purse at it, when it immediately falls to pieces, &c. D. Quixotte, b. ii. ch. 3. But under due regulation, and proper contrivance, they were a beautiful and useful spectacle.

* "And to keep that shew companie, (but yet furre off) stoode the *shewe of Manhode* and *Desart*; as first to be presented: and that shewe was as well furnished as the other: men all, saving one boy called *Beautie*, for which *Manhood*, *Favour*, and *Desart*, did strive, (or should have contended;) but *good Fortune* (as victor of all conquests) was to come in and overthrow *Manhood*, &c."

HOLLINSHED'S CHRON. v. iii. p. 1297.

† Exhibited before the Queen at Westminster, ibid. p. 1317. et seq.

the Lords Arundell and Windsor, and Sir Philip Sydney, who are feigned to be the children of *Desire*, attempting to win the *Fortress of Beauty*. In the composition of the last spectacle, no small share of poetical invention appears.

In the mean time, I do not deny that Spenser was, in great measure, tempted by the Orlando Furioso to write an allegorical poem. Yet it must still be acknowledged, that Spenser's peculiar mode of allegorising seems to have been dictated by those spectacles, rather than by the fictions of Ariosto. In fact, Ariosto's species of allegory does not so properly consist in impersonating the virtues, vices, and affections of the mind, as in the adumbration of moral doctrine*, under

* It is observed by Plutarch, that "Allegory is that, in which one thing is *related* and another *understood*." Thus Ariosto *relates* the adventures of Orlando, Rogero, Bradamante, &c. by which is *understood* the conquest of

the actions of men and women. On this plan Spenser's allegories are sometimes formed: as in the first book where the Red-crosse Knight or a *True Christian*, defeats the wiles of Archimago, or the *Devil*, &c. &c. These indeed are fictitious personages; but he proves himself a much more ingenious allegorist, where his imagination *bodies* forth unsubstantial things, *turns them to shape*, and marks out the nature, powers, and effects, of that which is ideal and abstracted, by visible and external symbols; as in his delineations of *Fear*, *Despair*, *Fancy*, *Envy*, and the like. Ariosto gives us but few symbolical beings of this

the passions, the importance of virtue, and other moral doctrines; on which account we may call the *Orlando* a *moral* poem; but can we call the *Fairy Queen*, upon the whole, a *moral poem*? is it not equally an *historical* or *political* poem? For though it be, according to it's author's words, an *allegory* or *dark conceit*, yet that which is couched or understood under this allegory is the history, and intrigues, of Queen Elizabeth's courtiers; which however are introduced with a moral design.

sort; for a picturesque invention was by no means his talent; while those few which we find in his poem are seldom drawn with that characteristical fullness, and significant expression, so striking in the fantastic portraits of Spenser. And that Spenser painted these figures in so distinct and animated a style, may we not partly account for it from this cause: That he had been long habituated to the sight of these emblematical personages, visibly decorated with their proper attributes, and actually endued with speech, motion, and life?

As a more convincing argument in favour of this hypothesis, I shall remark, that Spenser expressly denominates his most exquisite groupe of allegorical figures, the *Maske of Cupid**. Thus, without recurring to conjec-

* It is not improbable that Milton, in Il Penseroso, took his thought of hearing music from the earth, produced by some *spirit* or *genius*.

ture, his own words * evidently demonstrate that he sometimes had representations of this sort in his eye. He tells us, moreover, that these figures were,

---

And as I wake, sweet music *breath*,
Above, about, or *underneath*. — —

from some machinery of Inigo Jones, in his *Masques*. Hollinshed mentions something like this, in a very curious *devise* presented before Queen Elizabeth, speaking of the music of some fictitious nymphs; he adds, "which sure had been a noble hearing, and the more melodious for the variety thereof, because it should come secretlie and strangelie out of the earth." Ubi supr. p. 1297. It may, perhaps, be readily admitted, that Milton drew the whole from what had been represented in a masque. This particular artifice, however, was not uncommon in an age which aimed to please by surprise. Sandys tells us, "In the garden of the Tuilleries, at Paris, by an artificial device under ground invented for Musicke, I have known an echo repeate a verse, &c."

SANDYS's OVID. Notes, b. iii. fol. Oxon. 1632. pag. 103.

* Thus also, in the Ruines of Time, he calls his noble allegoric representations of Empire, Pleasure, Strength, &c. *tragicke pageaunts*.

Before mine eyes strange sights presented were,
Like *tragicke pageaunts* seeming to appeare.

— — — — — . A jolly company,
In manner of a maske enranged orderly.
3. 12. 5.

In his introduction to this groupe, it is manifest that he drew from another allegoric spectacle of that age, called the *Dumb Shew**,

* This consisted of dumb actors, who by their dress and action prepared the spectators for the matter and substance of each ensuing act respectively; as also of much hieroglyphical scenery calculated for the same purpose. See Gordobucke, a tragedy, written by T. Sackville, 1561, lately reprinted by Mr. Spence: Jocasta, a tragedie, written by G. Gascoyne and F. Kinwelmarshe, and acted at Graies Inn, 1566: and the introduction to s. 7. act 3. of Shakespeare's Hamlet.

Beaumont and Fletcher, in their Play, A Wife for a Month, act 2. s. ult. manifestly copy from Spenser's Maske of Cupid. A Maske of Cupid is there introduced, in which Cupid appeared at the head of his servants or attendants, Fancy, Desire, Delight, Hope, Fear, Distrust, Jealousy, Care, Ire, Poverty, Despair. These are the Personages that attend Cupid in Spenser's Mask. Particularly Cupid says,

— — — Then clap high
My coloured wings. — — —

So Spenser had represented him.

And clapt on high his coloured winges twaine.
3. 12. 23.

which was wont to be exhibited before every act of a tragedy. st. 3.

And forth issewd, as on the ready flore
Of some theatre, a grave personage,
That in his hand a branch of laurel bore,
With comely haveour, and countnance sage,
Yclad in costly garments, fit for tragicke stage.

iv.

Proceeding to the midst he still did stand,
As if in mind he somewhat had to say;
And to the vulgar beckning with his hand,
In sign of silence, as to hear a play,
By lively actions he gan bewray
Some argument of matter passioned;
Which doen, he backe retyred soft away;
And passing by, his name discovered,
Ease on his robe in golden letters cyphered.

He afterwards styles these figures *Maskers*. st. 6.

The whiles the *Maskers* marched forth in trim array.

vii.

The first was *Fancy*, like a lovely boy,
Of rare aspect. — — — —

From what has been said, I would not have it objected that I have intended to arraign the powers of our author's invention; or insinuated, that he servilely copied such representations. All I have endeavoured to prove is, that Spenser was not only better qualified to delineate fictions of this sort, because they were the real objects of his sight; but, as all men are influenced by what they see, that he was prompted and induced to delineate them because he saw them, especially as they were so much the delight of his age.

Instead of entering into a critical examination of Spenser's manner of allegorising, and of the poetical conduct of his allegories, which has been done with an equally judicious and ingenious discernment by Mr. Spence*, I shall observe, that our author fre-

* Polymet. b. x. d. 4.

quently introduces an allegory, under which no meaning is couched; viz. 2. 9. 21. *Alma* is the mind, and her *Castle* the body. The tongue is the porter of this castle, the nose the portcullis, and the mouth the porch, about the inside of which are placed twice sixteen warders clad in white, which are the teeth; these *Alma* passes by, who rise up, and do obeisance to her. st. 26. But how can the teeth be said to rise up and bow to to the mind? Spenser here forgot, that he was allegorising, and speaks as if he was describing, without any latent meaning, a real Queen, with twice sixteen real warders, who, as such, might, with no impropriety, be said to rise and bow to their Queen. Many instances of his confounding allegory with reality occur through this whole canto, and the two next; particularly where he is describing the kitchen of this castle, which is the belly, he gives us a formal description of such a kitchen as was to be seen in his time

in castles, and great houses, by no means expressive of the thing intended. Again, the occult meaning of his bringing Scudamore to the house of *Care*, 4. 5. 32. clashes with what he had before told us. By this allegory of Scudamore coming to *Care*'s house, it should be *understood*, that " Scudamore, from a happy, passed into a miserable state." For we may reasonably suppose, that before he came to *Care*'s house he was unacquainted with *Care;* whereas the poet had before represented him as involved in extreme misery. It would be tedious, by an allegation of particular examples, to demonstrate how frequently his allegories are mere descriptions; and that, taken in their literal sense, they contain an improper, or no signification. I shall, however, mention one. The *Blatant Beast* is said to break into the monasteries, to rob their chancels, cast down the desks of the monks, deface the altars, and destroy the images found in their

churches. By the *Blatant Beast* is understood Scandal, and by the havock just mentioned as effected by it, is implied the suppression of religious houses and popish superstition. But how can this be properly said to have been brought about by Scandal? And how could Spenser, in particular, with any consistency say this, who was, as appears by his pastorals, a friend to the reformation, as was his heroine Elizabeth?

But there is another capital fault in our author's allegories, which does not immediately fall under the stated rules of criticism. "Painters, says a French writer, ought to employ their allegories in religious pictures with much greater reserve than in profane pieces. They may, indeed, in such subjects as do not represent the mysteries and miracles of our religion, make use of an allegorical composition, the action whereof shall be expressive of some truth that cannot be

represented otherwise, either in painting or sculpture. I agree therefore to let them draw *Faith* and *Hope* supporting a dying person, and *Religion* in deep affliction at the feet of a deceased prelate. But I am of opinion, that artists who treat of the miracles and dogmas of our religion are allowed no kind of allegorical composition.—— "The facts whereon our religion is built, and the doctrine it delivers, are subjects in which the painter's imagination has no liberty to sport *." The conduct which this author blames is practised by Spenser, with this difference only; that the painters here condemned are supposed to adapt human allegory to divine mystery, whereas Spenser has mingled divine mystery with human allegory. Such a practice as this tends not only to confound sacred and profane subjects, but to place the licentious sallies of imagination

* Abbe du Bos, Reflexions, &c. tom. i. c. 24.

upon a level with the dictates of divine inspiration; to debase the truth and dignity of heavenly things, by making Christian allegory subservient to the purposes of Romantic fiction.

This fault our author, through a defect of judgment rather than a contempt of religion, has most glaringly committed throughout his whole first book, where the imaginary instruments and expedients of romance are perpetually interwoven with the mysteries contained in the *Book of Revelations.* Duessa, who is formed upon the idea of a romantic enchantress, is gorgeously arrayed in gold and purple, presented with a triple* crown by the giant Orgoglio, and seated by him on a monstrous seven-headed dragon, (1. 7. 16.) whose tail reaches to the skies,

* By the triple crown he plainly glances at Popery.

and throws down the stars, (s. 18.) she bearing a golden cup in her hand. (1. s. 25.) This is the *Scarlet Whore,* and the *red Dragon* in the *Revelations.* "Behold a great red dragon, having seven heads, and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads; and his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to earth *." Again, "I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet-coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads, and ten horns; and the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls, having a golden cup in her hands, full of abomination, and filthiness of her fornication †."

In Orgoglio's castle, which is described as very magnificent, Prince Arthur discovers,

* Ch. xii. ver. 3. 4. † Ch. xvii. ver. 3. 4.

An altar carv'd with cunning imagery,
On which true Christians blood was often spilt,
And holy martyrs often doen to die,
With cruel malice and strong tyranny;
Whose blessed sprites, from underneath the stone,
To God for vengeance cride continually.
1. 8. 36.

The inspired author of the above-named book mentions the same of what he saw in heaven, "I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held; and they cried with a loud voice, how long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge, and avenge our blood on them that dwell on earth*?"

A hermit points out to the *Red-crosse* knight the New Jerusalem, (1. 10. 53.) which an angel discovers to St. John, (c. 21. 10. &c.) This prospect is taken, says the

* Ch. vi. ver. 9. 10

poet, from a mountain more lofty than either the Mount of Olives or Parnassus. These two comparisons, thus impertinently linked together, strongly remind us of the absurdity now spoken of, the mixture of divine truth, and profane invention; and naturally lead us to reflect on the difference between the oracles uttered from the former, and the fictions of those who dreamed on the latter.

Spenser, in the visionary dominions of Una's father, has planted the *Tree of Life* and of *Knowledge:* from the first of the trees, he says, a well flowed, whose waters contained a most salutary virtue, and which the dragon could approach. Thus in the same scripture, " He shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God, and of the lamb. In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the *Tree of*

*Life**." The circumstance, in particular, of the dragon not being able to approach this water, is literally adopted from romance, as has been before observed†. Thus also, by the steps and fictions of romance, we are conducted to the death of the dragon who besieged the parents of Una, by which is figured the destruction of the old serpent mentioned in the Apocalypse.

The extravagancies of Pagan mythology are not improperly introduced into a poem of this sort, as they are acknowledged falsities; or at best, if expressive of any moral truth, no more than the inventions of men. But the poet that applies the *visions* of God in such a manner is guilty of an impropriety, which, I fear, amounts to an impiety.

If we take a retrospect of English poetry

* Ch. xxii. ver. 1. 2. † Sect. ii. supra.

from the age of Spenser, we shall find that it principally consisted in visions and allegories*. Fancy was a greater friend to the dark ages, as they are called, than is commonly supposed. Our writers caught this vein from the Provencial poets. There are, indeed, the writings of some English poets now remaining, who wrote before Gower or Chaucer. But these are merely chroniclers in rhyme, and seem to have left us the last dregs of that sort of composition, which was practised by the British Bards: for instance, the † Chronicle of Robert of Glocester, who

* This subject may, probably, be one day considered more at large, in a regular history.

† That laborious antiquary, Thomas Hearne, first printed this author, at Oxford, 1724. In his preface, he tells us, p. 10. how he was first tempted to publish this rare piece. "When I first saw a MS. of this author, (which was even when I was a young under-graduate) in the Bodleian Library, being one of the first MSS. I had ever perused there, I was *wonderfully delighted* with it." He afterwards informs us, with no small degree of triumph, p. 84. "As the Acts of the Apostles, that I

wrote, according to his account, about the year 1280. The most ancient allegorical poem which I have seen in our language, is a manuscript Vision, in the Bodleian library, written in the reign of Edward II. by Adam

published from Arch-bishop Laud's MSS. is the first entire book that was ever printed in England, in capital letters; so this Chronicle of Robert of Glocester is the first entire book, that was ever printed in this kingdom, (it may be in the whole world) in the manner I have done it, that is, in the black letter, with a mixture of some Saxon characters." In the next page he proceeds to enter into a warm defence of the old black letter. "As it is a reproach to us, that the Saxon language should be so forgot, as to have but few (comparatively speaking) that are able to read it; so 'tis a greater reproach that the black letter, which was the character so much in use in our grandfathers days, should be now, as it were, disused and rejected; especially, when we know the best editions of our English bibles and common prayer (to say nothing of other books) are printed in it" I shall cite one more instance of our antiquary's extreme thirst after ancient things, p. 19. "But tho' I have taken so much pleasure in perusing the English bible of the year 1541, yet 'tis nothing equal to that I should take, in turning over that of the year 1539."

Davie. It is in the short verse of the old metrical romance. However, Gower and Chaucer were justly reputed the first English poets, because they were the first, of any note at least, who introduced *invention* into our poetry; the first who *moralised their song*, and strove to render virtue more amiable by cloathing her in the veil of fiction. Chaucer, it must be acknowledged, deserves to be placed the first in time of our English poets, on another account; his admirable artifice in painting the familiar manners, which none before him had ever attempted in the most imperfect degree: and it should be remembered to his immortal honour, that he was the first writer who gave the English nation, in their own language, an idea of *humour*. About the same time flourished an allegorical satyrist, the author of Piers Plowman's Visions *. To these succeeded Lyd-

* An account of this Poem will be given at large hereafter.

gate; who from his principal performances, the Fall of Princes*, and Story of Thebes, more properly may be classed among the legendary poets, although the first of these is in great measure a series of visions. But we have of this author two poems, viz. The Temple of Glass, and the Dance of Death, besides several other pieces, chiefly in manuscript, professedly written in this species. Lydgate has received numberless encomiums from our old English poets, which he merited more from his language than his imagination. Lydgate is an unanimated writer, yet he made considerable improvements in the rude state of English versification; and is, perhaps, the first of our poets whom common readers can peruse with little hesitation and difficulty. He was followed by Hardyng, who wrote a chronicle, in verse, of all the Eng-

* The book on which it is founded, viz. Boccace de *Casibus Virorum Illustrium*, is a plain historial narrative.

lish kings, from Brutus, the favourite subject of the British bards, or poetical genealogists *, down to the reign of Edward IV. in whose reign he lived. This piece is often commended and quoted by our most learned antiquaries. But the poet is lost in the historian: care in collecting and truth in relating events are incompatible with the sallies of invention. So frigid and prosaic a performance, after such promising improvements, seemed to indicate that poetry was relapsing into its primitive barbarism; and that the rudeness of Robert of Glocester would soon be reinstated in the place of Chaucer's judgment and imagination.

However, in the reign of Henry VII. this

* These were the only historians, and their pieces were sung, as I before observed. In the statutes of a college at Oxford, founded about 1386, it is prescribed, that the scholars, on festival days, for their common entertainment in the hall, shall sing *Chronica Regum Angliæ*. Coll. Nov. Stat. Rubric. xviii.

interval of darkness was happily removed by Stephen Hawes, a name generally unknown and not mentioned by any compiler of the lives of English poets. This author was at this period the restorer of invention, which seems to have suffered a gradual degeneracy from the days of Chaucer. He not only revived, but improved, the ancient allegoric vein, which Hardyng had almost entirely banished. Instead of that dryness of description, so remarkably disgusting in many of his predecessors, we are by this poet often entertained with the luxuriant effusions of Spenser. Hawes refined Lydgate's versification, and gave it sentiment and imagination: added new graces to the seven-lined stanza which Chaucer and Gower had adopted from the Italian; and, to sum up all, was the first of our poets who decorated invention with perspicuous and harmonious numbers. The title of his principal performance is almost as obscure as his name, viz. "The

historie of *Graunde Amoure* and *La Bel Pucel*, called the *Pastime of Pleasure*; contayning the knowledge of the seven sciences, and the course of man's lyfe in this worlde. Invented by Stephen Hawes, groome of kyng Henry the seventh his chamber*. Henry VII. is said to have preferred Hawes to this station, chiefly on account of his extraordinary memory, for he could repeat by heart most of the English poets, especially Lydgate†. This reign produced another allegorical poem, entitled the *Ship of Fooles*‡.

* In a note after the contents it is said to be written, an. 21. Hen. vii. or 1505. "Such is the fate of poetry, says Wood, that this book, which in the time of Henry VII. and VIII. was taken into the hands of all ingenious men, is now thought but worthy of a ballad-monger's stall." Athen. Oxon. ed. 2. vol. i. pag. 6. col. 2. It is in Mus. Ashmol. Oxon. Cod. impress. A. Wood. He also wrote the *Temple of Glass*, Wynk. de Worde, 1500. 4to. and other pieces.

† Wood ubi supr. et Bale Script. Brit. cent. viii. num. 58.

‡ Finished 1508.

It was translated from the High-Dutch, and professes to ridicule the vices and absurdities of all ranks of men. The language is tolerably pure: but it has nothing of the invention and pleasantry which the plan seems to promise; neither of which, however, could be expected, if we consider its original.

In the reign of Henry VIII. classical literature began to be received and studied in England; and the writings of the ancients were cultivated with true taste and erudition, by Sir Thomas More, Colet, Ascham, Leland, Cheke, and other illustrious rivals in polished composition. Erasmus was entertained and patronised by the King and nobility; and the Greek language, that inestimable repository of genuine elegance and sublimity, was taught and admired. In this age flourished John Skelton; who, notwithstanding the great and new lights with which he was surrounded, contributed nothing to what his ancestors had

left him: nor do I perceive, that his versification is, in any degree, more refined than that of one of his immediate predecessors, Hawes. Indeed, one would hardly suspect, that he wrote in the same age with his elegant cotemporaries Surrey and Wyat. His best pieces are written in the allegorical manner, and are his *Crowne of Lawrell*, and *Bowge of Court*. But the genius of Skelton seems little better qualified for picturesque than satyrical poetry. In the one he wants invention, grace, and dignity; in the other wit and good manners*.

I should be guilty of injustice to a nation which, amid a variety of disadvantages, has kept a constant pace with England in the

* Wood informs us, that Skelton, for his satirical abuses of the Dominican monks, incurred the severe censure of Richard Nykke, Bishop of Norwich; and that he was, moreover, "guilty of certain crimes, *as most poets are.*" Ubi supr. vol. i. pag. 23.

progress of literature, if I neglected to mention, in this general review, two Scottish poets who flourished about this period, Sir David Lyndesay, and Sir William Dunbar; the former of which in his *Dream*, and other pieces, and the latter in his *Golden Terge*, or *Shield*, appear to have been animated with the noblest spirit of allegoric fiction.

Soon afterwards appeared a series of poems, entitled, the *Mirror of Magistrates*, formed upon a dramatic * plan, and capable

* Every Person is introduced speaking. Richard II. is thus introduced in a particular situation: "Suppose you see the corpse of this prince, all to be mangled with blewe wounds, lying pale and wan, all naked, upon the stones, in St. Paule's Church, the people standing round about him, and making his complaynt, in manner following, &c.".——Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* gave rise to the *Mirrour of Magistrates*. In the year 1550, R. Baldwine was requested to continue Lydgate's series of the great Unfortunate; but he chose rather to confine himself entirely to our English story, and began with Robert Tresilian 1388, and ended with Lord Hastings, 1483. In

of admitting some of the most affecting pathetical strokes. But these pieces, however

this work he was assisted by others; and particularly by Thomas Sackville, who wrote the life of the Duke of Buckingham, together with this *Induction*; intending, at the same time, to write all those remarkable lives which occurred from the Conquest to Tresilian, with whom Baldwine originally begun, and to have printed his additional part, together with all that Baldwine, and his friends, had already performed, in one volume, and to have prefixed this *Induction* as a general preface to the whole. But this was never executed. Afterwards another collection appeared under the same title, by W. Higgins, 1587. The last edition of the whole, with additions, was published by Richard Niccols, 1610. Drayton's Legends are written on this plan; and are therefore added in Nicols's edition.

Mr. Walpole, in his entertaining account of Royal and Noble Authors, remarks, that this set of poems gave rise to the fashion of historical plays, particularly to Shakespear's, vol. i. pag. 166. ed. 2. But the custom of acting *Histories* seems to have been very old on our stage. Stowe seems to make them a distinct species of drama; but perhaps improperly. "Of late days, instead of those stage-playes, [at Skinner's Well, 1391, and 1409.] have been used comedies, tragedies, enterludes, and *histories*, both true and fained." Survey of London, edit. 1618, quarto, pag. 144.

honoured with the commendation of Sydney, seem to be little better than a biographical detail *. There is one poem indeed, among the rest, which exhibits a groupe of imaginary personages, so beautifully drawn, that, in all probability, they contributed to direct, at least to stimulate, Spenser's imagination in the construction of the like representations. Thus much may be truly said, that Sackville's *Induction* approaches nearer to the *Fairy Queen* in the richness of allegoric description, than any previous or succeeding poem.

* Bishop Hall ridicules the *Mirror of Magistrates*, in the following passage of his satires.

Another whose more heavie-hearted saint
Delights in nought but notes of ruefull plaint,
Urgeth his melting muse with solemn tears,
Rhyme of some *drearie fates of luckless peers.*
Then *brings he up* some branded *whining ghost,*
To tell how *old misfortunes* have him tost.

B. i. s. 5.

After the *Fairy Queen*, allegory began to decline, and by degrees gave place to a species of poetry *, whose images were of the metaphysical and abstracted kind. This fashion evidently took it's rise from the predominant studies of the times, in which the disquisitions of school divinity, and the perplexed subtleties of philosophic disputation, became the principal pursuits of the learned.

* Mason's *Musæus*. But the spirit of chivalry, of which Prince Henry was remarkably fond, together with shews and pageantries, still continued, yet in a less degree. Hence G. Wither introduces Britannia thus lamenting the death of Prince Henry.

> Alas, who now shall grace my Turnaments,
> Or honour me with deeds of Chivalrie?
> What shall become of all my Merriments,
> My Ceremonies, Showes of Heraldrie,
> And other Rites? — — —
>
> PRINCE HENRIES OBSEQ. ELEG. xxxi. pag. 368. Lond. 1617.

Then *Una fair* gan drop her *princely mien* *.

James I. is contemptuously called a *pedantic* monarch. But, surely, nothing could be more serviceable to the interests of learning, at it's infancy, than this supposed foible. "To stick the doctor's chair into the throne," was to patronise the literature of the times. In a more enlightened age, the same attention to letters, and love of scholars, might have produced proportionable effects on sciences of real utility. This cast of mind in the King, however, indulged in some cases to an ostentatious affectation, was at least innocent.

Allegory, notwithstanding, unexpectedly rekindled some faint sparks of it's native

* See Davies on the Immortality of the Soul, Lord Brooke's Treatise of Human Learning, Donne's Works, &c.

splendor, in the *Purple* * *Island* of Fletcher, with whom it almost as soon disappeared; when a poetry succeeded, in which imagination gave way to correctness, sublimity of description to delicacy of sentiment, and majestic imagery to conceit and epigram. Poets began now to be more attentive to words, than to things and objects. The nicer

* Printed in the year 1633. The principal fault of this poem is, that the author has discovered too much of the anatomist. The *Purple Island*, is the Isle of Man, whose parts and construction the poet has described in an allegorical manner, viz. the bones are the foundation of it, the veins it's brooks, &c. Afterwards the intellectual faculties are represented as persons: but he principally shines where he personifies the passions and evil concupiscencies of the heart, who attack the good qualities of the heart alike personified, which under the conduct of their leader, *Intellect*, rout the former. In this poem there is, too, somewhat of a metaphysical turn. As the whole is supposed to be sung by two shepherds, the poet has found an opportunity of adorning the beginnings and endings of his cantos with some very pleasing pastoral touches. This poem seems to bear some resemblance to the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius.

beauties of happy expression were preferred to the daring strokes of great conception. Satire, that bane of the sublime, was imported from France. The muses were debauched at court; and polite life, and familiar manners, became their only themes*. The simple dignity of Milton † was either entirely neg-

* Thus when Voltaire read his *Henriade* to Malezieuz, that learned man assured him, his work would not be tasted; for, says he, "Les François n' ont pas le tete epique." In other words, "The French have no idea of *solemn* and *sublime* poetry; of *fiction* and *fable:* the *Satires* of Boileau will be preferred to the best *epic* poem."

† Even Dryden, blinded by the beauties of versification only, seems not to have had a just idea of Milton's greatness. It is odd, that in praising Milton, he should insist on these circumstances. "No man has so copiously translated Homer's Grecisms, and the Latin elegancies of Virgil." By what follows it appears, that he had no notion of Milton's simplicity. "He runs into a *flat thought* sometimes for a hundred lines together, but 'tis when he is got into a *track of scripture.*" He afterwards strangely misrepresents Milton's reason for writing in blank verse. "Neither will I justifie Milton for his writing in blank verse; for whatever causes he alleges for the abolishing of rhime (which I have not now the

lected, or mistaken for bombast and insipidity, by the refined readers of a dissolute age, whose taste and morals were equally vitiated.

From this detail it will appear, that allegorical poetry, through many gradations, at last received its ultimate consummation in the Fairy Queen. Under this consideration, therefore, I hope what I have here collected on this subject will not seem too great a deviation from the main subject of the present section; which I conclude with the just and pertinent sentiments of the Abbé du Bos,

leisure to examine) his own particular reason is plainly this, that *Rhime was not his talent.*" Whether rhime was Milton's talent or not, I shall not inquire; but shall infer, from this reason assigned by Dryden, that had Dryden composed the Paradise Lost he would have written it in rhyme, and that consequently, with Burnet, he judged the want of it an imperfection in Milton's poem. See dedication to Dryden's Juvenal.

on allegorical action. The passage, though properly respecting dramatic poets, is equally applicable to the action of the Fairy Queene. "It is impossible for a piece, whose subject is an allegorical action, to interest us very much. Those which writers of approved wit and talents have hazarded in this kind, have not succeeded so well as others, where they have been disposed to be less ingenious, and to treat historically their subject.—Our heart requires truth even in fiction itself; and when it is presented with an allegorical fiction, it cannot determine itself, if I may be allowed the expression, to enter into the *sentiments* of those chimerical personages.—A theatrical piece, were it to speak only to the *mind*, would never be capable of engaging our attention through the whole performance. We may therefore apply the words of Lactantius upon this occasion." "Poetic licence has its bounds, beyond which you are not permitted to carry your fiction.

A poet's art consists in making a good representation of things that might really have happened, and embellishing them with elegant images. *Totum autem, quod referas, fingere, id est ineptum esse et mendacem, potius quam poetam* *."

* Reflexions. tom. i. c. 25.

SECT. XI.

Containing Miscellaneous Remarks.

IN reading the Fairy Queene, some observations occurred which could not be conveniently referred to the general heads of the foregoing sections; but which, in this, are thrown together without connexion, as they occasionally and successively offered themselves.

B. i. Introduct. s. i.

Fierce warres, and faithfull loves shall *moralize* my song.

By the word *moralize*, Spenser declares his design of writing an allegorical poem;

" though my subject, says he, consists of *fierce wars* and *faithful loves*, yet under these shall be couched moral doctrine, and the precepts of virtue." Our author, in another place, styles his *Faerie Queene, a morall Lay*, where the shepherd addresses Colin Clout, who represents Spenser.

> Whether it were some *Hymne*, or *morall lay*,
> Or caroll made to please thy loved lasse.

And Bishop Hall, in the prologue to his satires; alluding to this poem, hints at the preceptive nature of it in these words; speaking of the swords of Elfish Knights,

> — — — — Or sheath them new
> In misty *moral* types. — — —

And Drayton calls our author, with reference to the morality contained in the *Faerie Queene*,

— — Grave *morall* Spenser*. — —

Spenser's poetry is,

Truth severe, by fairy fiction drest †.

As a real poet expresses it; one who has shewn us that all true genius did not expire with Spenser. Let me add Milton's opinion, who calls our author, " Our sage, serious Spenser, whom I dare be known to think, a *better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas* ‡."

B. i. c. i. s. ii.

But of his cheare did seeme too solemne *sad*.

Sad did not always imply sorrow, but gravity of countenance and deportment. " Certaine gentlemen of the privie chamber [of Henry VIII.] were removed for their

* To my most dearely loved friend, Henry Reinolds, of poets and poesie.

† Gray's Odes.

‡ A Speech against Unlicensed Printing. Birch's edit. vol. i. pag. 147.

graved by Hollar, in Dugdale's Monasticon*. In all probability, this painting at St. Paul's, or that, which was the same, at St. Innocent's gave Hans Holbein the hint for composing his famous piece, called the *Dance of Death*, now to be seen at Basil†.

It is commonly received, that the wood-

* Vol. iii. pag. 368.

† But Mr. Walpole, in his very curious and judicious *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, just published, endeavours to prove that Holbein did not paint this picture. vol. i. pag. 74. However, a poet cotemporary with Holbein, Nicholas Borbonius, has addressed an epigram to Hans Holbein, with this title, "De *Morte Picta*, a Hanso Pictore nobili." Nugæ Poeticæ, lib. vii. car. 58. Basil. 1540. 12mo. For that this Hansus, besides his having been the author of a Mors picta, was no other than Hans Holbein, I presume from another copy of verses in the same collection. lib. iii. car. 8.

Videre qui vult Parrhasium cum Zeuxide,
Accersat e Britannia
Hansum Ulbium, et Georgium Riperdium
Lugduno ab urbe Galliæ.

By the way, I cannot find the name of this G. Riperdius, in any collection of Lives of Painters.

cuts, from whence Hollar engraved his exquisite set of prints, entitled the *Dance of Death*, were executed by Holbein: but I am apt to think this a mistake, which arose from confounding Holbein's supposed picture, above-mentioned, with these wood-cuts. For it will appear, that Holbein's manner of cutting in wood, is entirely different from that in which these are finished, by comparing them with Holbein's scriptural wood-cuts, inserted in Archbishop Cranmer's catechism *. In the cuts of this catechism there is a simple delicacy of handling, not found in those of the *Dance of Death;* which, how-

* *Catechismus*, that is to say, &c. Excud. Gualt. Lyne, 1548, 12mo. Hans Holbein is engraved at full length, in the cut at pag. 217. I find also his initials, I. H. on the book at the foot of the altar, in cut, pag. 166. Also on the pedestal of the table, cut, pag. 203. Mr. Walpole, ubi supr. pag. 93. mentions an edition of this book in quarto. The edition I have seen has on the back of the title a wood cut, of Edward VI. presenting the bible to the Bishops, and other nobles. It is dedicated to Edward VI. by Cranmer.

ever, have an inimitable expression, and are probably the work of Albert Durer. I am not ignorant, that Rubens, who had copied this *Dance of Death*, recommended them to Sandrart, as the performance of Holbein: of which Sandrart himself informs us, "Sic memini, &c.——I also well remember, that in the year 1627, when Paul Rubens came to Utrecht to visit Handorst, being escorted, both coming from, and returning to Amsterdam, by several artists, as we were in the boat, the conversation fell upon Holbein's book of cuts, representing the *Dance of Death*; that Rubens gave them the highest encomiums, advising me, who was then a young man, to set the highest value upon them, informing me, at the same time, that he, in his youth had copied them *. But if Rubens stiled these prints Holbein's, in fami-

* Joachim. Sandrart, Academ. Pict. part. ii. lib. iii. cap. 7. pag. 241.

liar conversation, it was but calling them by the name which the world h. d given them, and by which they were generally known. Besides, in another place Sandrart evidently confounds these wood-cuts with Holbein's picture at Basil. "Sed in foro, &c. But in the fish-market there [at Basil] may be seen his [Holbein's] admirable *Dance of Peasants*; where also, in the same public manner, is shewn his *Dance of Death*, in which, by a variety of figures, it is demonstrated that Death spares neither popes, emperors, princes, &c. as may be seen in his most elegant wooden cuts, of the same work*." Now the cuts, of which at present I am speaking, are fifty-three in number, every one of which has an unity, and is entirely detached from the rest; so that, how could they be representations of one picture? But if it be

* Joachim. Sandrart, Academ. Pict. pag. 238. Evelyn is equally mistaken, Sculptura, pag. 69. Lond, 1754. 8vo.

granted, that they were engraved from this picture, which also from their dissimilitude could not be the case, how does it follow they were done by Holbein? Shall we suppose, that Holbein did both the picture and the engravings?

The book from which Hollar copied these cuts, is printed at Basil, 1554, and is thus entitled, "*Icones Mortis*, duodecim imaginibus, præter priores, totidemque inscriptionibus, præter epigrammata, e gallicis, a Georgio Æmylio in Latinum versa, cumulatæ." The earliest edition I could meet with, perhaps the first, is one in which the inscriptions, &c. are in Italian, printed at Lyons, 1549, with this title, "Simolachri, Historie, &c." In this there are not so many cuts, by twelve, as in the last-mentioned edition, and in the preface it is said, that this book had been before printed with French and Latin inscriptions, &c. and from the French edi-

tion, I suppose, Æmylius, spoken of before, translated. Spurious editions of these cuts soon afterwards appeared, all which I have seen, viz. at Basil, 1554; at Cologne, 1555; ibid. 1556; ibid. 1557; ibid. 1566; ibid. 1567. Might not Georgius Riperdius, of Lyons, mentioned above, have some hand in these engravings; as they seem to have made their first appearance in that city about the time he may be supposed, from the evidence of Borbonius, to have lived there?

I cannot close this subject more properly, than by remarking, that Spenser alludes to some of these representations, which, in his age, were fashionable and familiar.

All musicke sleepes, where *Death doth lead the Daunce.*

NOVEMBER.

B. i. c. i. s. vii.

Of a grove,

Not perceable with power of any starre.

It was an ancient superstition, that stars had a malign influence on trees. Hence Milton in Arcades.

> Under the shady roof
> Of branching elm *star-proof*.

And in the same poem.

> And heal the harme of thwarting thunder blue,
> Or what the cross *dire-looking* planet smites.

Where *dire-looking* is from the astrological term, *malign aspect*.

B. i. c. i. s. xv.

Of the young ones of *Error*.

> Into her mouth they crept, and sudaine all were gone.

This circumstance is not purely the poet's invention. It is reported of adders by many naturalists. This I mention, to shew that

Milton, who is supposed, in his *Sin and Death*, to have copied the like thought from this passage of Spenser, might borrow it from Nature herself.

B. i. c. i. s. xvi.

For light she hated as the deadlie *bale*.

Bale is here used literally for *poison*, it's genuine signification.

B. i. c. i. s. xviii.

Some circumstances in the Red-crosse Knight's combat with *Errour*, are drawn from St. George's combat with the serpent, in the Black Castle *.

B. i. c. i. s. xlv.

And made a lady of that other spright,
And fram'd of liquid ayre her tender parts.

---

* Seven Champions, p. ii. c. viii.

Thus a false Florimel is made of snow, animated with a spright, 3. 8. 5. Pope observes, that our author drew the idea of his false Florimel from that passage in the Iliad, where Apollo raises a phantom in the shape of Æneas *, and from the fictitious Turnus of Virgil †. But he probably borrowed it more immediately from romance, in which magicians are frequently feigned to dress up some wicked spirit with a counterfeit similitude, to facilitate their purposes of deception. Thus, in the Seven Champions ‡, "The magician caused, by his art, a spirit in the likeness of a lady, of a marvellous and fair beauty, to look through an iron grate who seemed to lean her faire face upon her white hand very pensively, and distilled from her crystal eyes great abundance of tears, &c."

* Iliad. b. v.

† Æneid. b. x. 637.

‡ P. ii. c. viii.

This is a capital machine of romance, and has accordingly been often applied by Cervantes, with infinite humour. The firm belief that his inveterate persecutor, the magician, changed the appearance of every object of his adventures, is the ground-work of all Don Quixote's absurdities. Even Sancho detects this foible of his deluded master, and palms an awkward country wench upon him for his angelic Dulcinea. It is remarkable, there is scarce a humourous circumstance in that inimitable piece of burlesque, but what is founded on this notion.

B. i. c. i. s. xlv.

Her all in white he clad, and over it
Cast a black stole, most like to seeme for Una fit.

Here is the first discovery of the name of the lady that accompanied the Red-crosse knight. Our author's residence in Ireland furnished him with the name *Una*, or Oonah. Lloyd observes, that it is there a common

woman's name*. He might at the same time intend to denote, by *Una*, singular and unparelleled excellence,

B. i. c. ii. s. xl.

In mightie arms he was yclad anon,
And silver shield; upon his coward brest
A bloudie cross; and on his craven crest
A bunch of haires, &c. — ——

Thus Archimago disguises himself in the accoutrements of the Red-crosse Knight, who, as we were before told, was

Yclad in mightie armes, and silver shield.
1, 1. 1.

And,

— On his brest a bloodie crosse he bore.
S. 2.

B. i. c. v. s. ii.

At last the golden oriental gate
Of greatest heaven gan to open faire,
And Phœbus, fresh as bridegroome to his mate,
Came dauncing forth, shaking his dewy hair.

* Archæol.

Spenser, as Dr. Jortin observes, plainly alluded to this text in the Psalms: "In them hath he set a tabernacle for the sun; which cometh forth as a bridegroom out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a giant to run his course*." But our author has strangely inverted the circumstances. The psalmist alludes to the Jewish custom of the bridegroom being conducted from his chamber at midnight, with solemn pomp, and preceded by a numerous train of torches. This is the illustration of the admirable Dr. Jackson, a theologist in the reign of James I. and without it the comparison is of no force or propriety. The idea which our author would convey is, that Phœbus came forth fresh and vigorous as a bridegroom, repairing to his bride.

The circumstance of Phœbus "came

* Psal. xix. 5.

dauncing forth," seems to have been copied by Milton, in his elegant *Song* on *May Morning*.

> Now the bright morning-star, dayes harbinger,
> Comes dancing from the east. — —

But probably Milton drew it from an old poem, called, the *Cuckow*, by * R. Niccols, 1607, who, speaking of the east, says,

> From whence the daies bright king came dancing out.

Especially as Milton has two thoughts and expressions in that song, which are likewise literally found in the *Cuckow*.

Milton calls the morning star

> — — Day's harbinger.

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† The same who wrote an addition to the *Mirror of Magistrates*, 1610, as I have hinted above.

Niccols terms the cock

— — Daies harbinger;

Milton says of May,

—— Who from her green lap throwes
The yellow cowslip, &c.

Niccols of May,

And from her fruitfull lap eche day she threw
The choicest flowres. —— ——

Milton, I suppose, had been reading this little poem of the *Cuckow*, just before he wrote his song, and so, perhaps, imperceptibly adopted some of it's thoughts and expressions. This observation by no means affects the merit of Milton's original genius. It is matter of curiosity to trace out an original author's track of reading. Thus in the following passage of the Paradise Lost.

proved thy true virginitie: for it is the nature of a lion, be he never so furious, not to harme the unspotted virgin, but humbly to lay his bristled head upon a maiden's lap*."

B. i. c. iv. s. xiv.

Her lords and ladies. — — —

What court does Spenser here intend? As reflections on the improvements of modern times must be agreeable to modern readers, I cannot forbear transcribing the account which Harrison, a cotemporary writer, has left us concerning the maids of honour, in Queen's Elizabeth's court. "Besides these things, I could in like sort set downe the waies and meanes, whereby our ancient ladies of the court doo shun and avoid idlenesse; some of them exercising their fingers

* Ibid. c. xi.

with the needle, others in caule-worke, diverse in spinning of silke, some in continual reading, either of the holie scriptures, or histories of our owne and forrein nations about us, and diverse in writing volumes of their owne, and translating of other mens into our English and Latin toong; while the youngest sort, in the meantime, applie their lutes, citharnes, pricksong, and all kinds of musicke, which they use only for recreation sake, when they are free from attendance on the Queen's majestie.——How manie of the eldest sort also are skillfull in surgerie, and distillation of strong waters; besides sundrie other artificial practices, pertaining to the ornature and commendation of their bodies! ——There is in manner none of them, but, when they be at home, can help to supply the ordinary want of the kitchen, with a number of dishes of their own devising, &c. *."

* Description of England, prefixed to Hollingshed's Chron.

B. i. c. iv. s. xiv.

Some frounce their curled haire in courtly guise,
Some prunke their ruffes. — — —

According to the fashion of dress which prevailed in the poet's age.

B. i. c. iv. s. xxxvi.

And underneath their feet all scattred lay
Dead sculs and bones of men. — —

Thus again, in Mammon's Caye.

And all the ground with sculs was scattered,
And dead men's bones. — — —

2. 7. 30.

Thus the champions, when they are betrayed by the necromancer of the Black Castle into an enchanted cave. "And as they went groping and feeling up and down, they found that they did tread on no other things but dead mens bones *."

* Seven Champions, b. ii. c. 8.

B. i. c. v. s. x.

At last the painim chaunct to cast his eye,
His suddaine eye flaming with wrathfull fire,
Upon his brothers shield which hung thereby;
Therewith redoubled was his raging ire,
And said, ah wretched sonne of wofull sire,
Dost thou sit wayling by blacke Stygian lake,
While here thy shield is hang'd for victors hire?

This beautiful circumstance was probably suggested by one somewhat analagous to it in the Æneid.

— — Infelix humero cum apparuit ingens
Baltheus, et notis fulserunt cingula bullis
Pallantis, &c.
Ille oculis postquam sævi monumenta doloris
Exuviasque hausit, furiis accensus, et ira
Terribilis, tune hinc, &c *."

But it must be allowed, that Spenser's spirit suffers but little here from the imputation of imitation.

* Æn. xii. v. 940.

B. i. c. vii. s. i.

— — — What earthly wit so *ware.*

"*Ware,* so prudent." This word puts me in mind of a correction, which Mr. Upton has made in Chaucer.

Full fetise was her cloke, as I was *ware* *.

Mr. Upton despairs of sense here; and therefore proposes to read,

Full fetise was her cloke as was *iware.*

That is, "As handsome as was worn by any woman."

But the expression, *I was ware,* occurs again in Chaucer.

Betwixt an hulfere, and a wode bende
As *I was ware,* I sawe where laie a man †.

---

* Prol. 157.

† Bl. Kn. 129.

And, I presume, signifies, in both places, *as I was awáre, as I perceived*: and we meet with, *was I ware*, after this manner,

Tho *was I ware* of pleasance anon right *.

very frequently; which is the same as, *I was ware.*

B. i. c. vii. s. xxiv.

The which these reliques sad present unto mine eye.

That is, her Knight's armour; which the dwarf brings to her. st. 19.

B. i. c. ix. s. xxxv.

Of *Despaire.*

His raw-bone cheeks, through penurie and pine
Were shrunke into his jawes as he did never dine.

xxxvi.

His garment nought but many ragged clouts,
With thorns together pinn'd and patched were.

* Speght's Ed. ii. fol. 234.

Sackville, who, next to Spenser, is the most full and expressive painter of allegoric personages, describes his *Miserie* after the same manner.

His face was leane, and some deale pin'd away,
And eke his hands consumed to the bone;
But what his bodie was I cannot say,
For on his carkas rayment had he none,
Save clouts and patches pieced one by one *.

But the circumstance of the thorn is new, and strongly picturesque

B. i. c. ix. s. xix.

— — — A box of diamond sure
Embowd with gold, and gorgeous ornament.

Embowd, i. e. arched, *arcuatus*, *bent* like a *bow*." A box having a vaulted cover of gold. Spenser, in the Visions of the World's Vanity, expresses the curve of the moon by this word.

* Induction.

— — — *Embowed* like the moon.

Harrington, in his Orlando Furioso, makes use of *embow'd*, to denote the concave appearance of the clouds in the sky.

Ev'n as we see the sunne obscurd sometime
By sudden rising of a mistie cloud,
Engendred by the vapour-breeding slime,
And in the middle region there *embowd* *.

In the same sense, says Bacon, of *Bow Windows*. "For *Imbowed Windows*, I hold them of good use; for they be prettie retiring places for conference †.

Gascoigne, in Jocasta, a Tragedy, applies *embowd* to a roof.

The gilded roofes *embowd* with curious worke ‡.

That is, vaulted with curious work: and Milton,

* 32. 93. † Essayes. Of Building, xlv.
‡ A. i. s. 2.

— The high, *embowed* roof
With antique pillars massy-proof,
And storied windows richly dight,
Casting a dim religious light,
There let the pealing organ blow
To the full-voiced quire below *.

Impressions made in earliest youth are ever afterwards most sensibly felt. Milton was probably first affected with, and often indulged the pensive pleasure which the awful solemnity of a Gothic church conveys to the mind, and which is here so feelingly described, while he was a school-boy at St. Paul's. The church was then in it's original Gothic state, and one of the noblest patterns of that kind of architecture.

B. i. c. x. s. v.

Humilta admits the Red-crosse Knight into the house of Holinesse.

* Il Penseroso.

—— —— They passe in stouping lowe;
For straight and narrow was the path which he did showe.

Drawn from our Saviour's discourse on the Mount. "Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life *."

B. i. c. x. s. xxvii.

And bitter *Penance*, with an iron whip,
Was wont him once to *disple* every day.

By to *disple*, i. e. to *disciple* or *discipline*, was formerly signified the penitentiary whippings, practised among the monks, so that it is here applied with the greatest propriety. In Fox's Book of Martyrs there is an old wood-cut, in which the whipping of an heretic is represented; with this title, "The *displing* of John Whitelock." *Displing* Friers was a common expression, as it is found in A Worlde of Wonders, 1608 †. Milton uses

* Matt. ch. vii. v. 14.

† Pag. 175.

it with allusion to the same sense. " 'Tis only the merry frier in Chaucer can *disple* them *." *Disciplina,* in the Spanish language, signifies the scourge which was used by penitents for these very purposes of religious flagellation.

B. i. c. x. s. lxiv.

Sith to thee is unknowne the cradle of thy brood.

Thus again,

Even from the cradle of his infancy.

5. 1. 5.

Thus also, G. Gascoigne to Lady Bridges.

Lo thus was Bridges hurt
In cradel of her kynd.

And in the Hymne in Honour of Love.

The wondrous cradle of thine infancy.

---

* Of Reformation in England, Birch's Edit. vol. i. pag. 13.

B. i. c. x. s. lv.

From thence a Faerie thee unweeting reft.

Thus St. George, while an infant, is stolen by an enchantress. "Not many yeares after his nativitie, the fell enchantress Kalyb,—— by charmes and witchcraft stole this infant from the carefull nurses *."

B. i. c. xi. s. liii.

— — Gaping wide,
He thought at once him to have swallowd quight,
And rusht upon him, &c.

Thus the winged serpent, in the Black Castle, attacks St. George, "pretending to have swallowed whole this courageous warrior, &c †."

B. i. c. xi. s. liv.

Of the Dragon's death.

* Seven Champions, b. i. c. 1. † Ibid. b. ii. c. 6.

So downe he fell, and forth his life did breath
That vanisht into smoake, and clowdes swift.

We meet with the same circumstance in Hawes's Pastime of Pleasure. But it is usual in romance.

B. i. c. xii. s. xxxviii.

To drive away the dull melancholy.

The same verse occurs, and upon the same occasion, 1. 5. 3.

B. ii. c. i. s. vi.

And knighthood took of good Syr Huon's hand.

There is a romance, called *Sir Huon of Bordeaux*, mentioned among other old histories of the same kind, in Laneham's *Letter*, concerning Queen Elizabeth's entertainment at Kenelworth-castle, above quoted *. It is

* Vol. i. sect. 2.

entitled, The famous Exploits of Syr Hugh of Bordeaux, and was translated from the French by John Bourchier, Lord Berners, in the reign of Henry VIII. This book passed through three editions. William Copland printed another translation by this nobleman, " *Arthur of Brytan.* The History of the most noble and valiant knight, Arthur of Lytell Brytayne, translated out of French, &c." fol. He also translated Froissart.

B. ii. c. i. s. liii.

The woodes, the nymphes, the bowres my midwives were.

The pregnant heroines of romance are often delivered in solitary forests, without assistance; and the child, thus born, generally proves a knight of most extraordinary puissance.

B. ii. c. ii. s. iv.

To shewe how sore *bloud-guiltinesse* he hat'th.

We meet with *bloud-guiltinesse* again, below.

— With *bloud-guiltinesse* to heap offence.
S. 30.

Again,

Or that *bloud-guiltinesse* or guile them blot.
2. 7. 19.

This is a word which would have been ranked among Spenser's obsolete terms, had it not been accidentally preserved to us in the translation of the Psalms used in our Liturgy, and by that means rendered familiar. "Deliver me from *bloud-guiltinesse*, O God*." The same may be said of *bloud-thirstie*.

And high advancing his *bloud-thirstie blade*.
1. 8. 16.

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* Psal. li. v. 14.

B. ii. c. ii. s: xxxiv.

— As doth a hidden moth
The inner garment fret, not th'outer touch.

He seems to have had his eye on that verse in the Psalms,

"Like as it were a moth fretting a garment*."

B. ii. c. iii. s. xxix.

Her dainty paps which like young fruit in May
Now little gan to swell, and being tide,
Through their thin weed their places only signifide.

Dryden, who had a particular fondness for our author, and from whom he confesses to have learned his art of versification, has copied this passage, in Cymon and Iphigenia.

Her bosom to the view was only bare;
Where two beginning paps were scarcely spy'd,
For yet their *places were but signify'd.*

* Psal. xxxix. v. 12.

B. ii. c. iii. s. xxxiii.

O goddesse (for such I thee take to bee)
For neither doth thy face terrestrial shew,
Nor voice sound mortall, &c. ——

Drawn from Æneas's address to his mother: and in the same manner again,

Angell, or goddesse, do I call thee right.
3. 5. 35.

Milton has finely applied this manner of address, originally taken from Ulysses's address to Nausicaa, Odyss. 6. in Comus.

— — — Hail foreign wonder!
Whom certain these rough shades did never breed,
Unless the goddess that in rural shrine
Dwellst here with Pan and Sylvan; by blest song
Forbidding every bleak unkindly fog
To touch the prosperous growth of this tall wood.

This speech is highly agreeable to the character of the flattering and deceitful Comus; and the supposition that she was the

goddess or genius of the wood, resulting from the situation of the persons, is no less new than proper.

There is another passage in Comus, whose subject is not much unlike that of the verses just produced, which probably Milton copied from Euripides, whose tragedies he is known to have studied with uncommon diligence.

> Their port was more than human, as they stood;
> I took it for a faery vision
> Of some gay creatures of the element,
> That in the colors of the rain-bow live,
> And play i' th' plighted clouds: I was awe-strook,
> And, as I past, I worshipp'd. ——

Comus thus describes to the lady her brothers: and after the same manner a shepherd, in Iphigenia in Taurus, describes Pylades and Orestes to Iphigenia, the sister of the latter*.

* Ver. 264.

Ενλαυθα δισσυς ειδε τις νεανιης
Βυφορβῶ ημων, καπεχωρησεν παλιν,
Ακροισι δακτυλοισι πορθμευων ιχνος,
Ελεξε, δ' υχ' οραῖε; δαιμονες τινες
Θασσυσιν ὁιδε· θεοσεβης δ' ημων τις ων
Ανεσχε χειρα, κ᾽ προσευξαῖ εισιδων,
Ω πονλιας παι Λευκοθεας, &c.
Δεσποῖα Παλαιμων, &c.
Εἰ᾽ υν επ' ακλαις θασσεῖον Διοσχορω.

Hic geminos juvenes vidit quidam
Pastor nostrum, & recessit retro
Summis [pedum] relegens vestigium,
Et dixit, non videtis? Dæmones quidam
Sedent isti [hic]: quidam vero de nobis religiosior
Sustulit manus, & adoravit, intuens,
O marinæ Leucotheæ fili. &c.
O Domine Palæmon, &c.
Sive in littore vos sedetis Gemini,

I shall take this opportunity of pointing out one or two more of Milton's imitations; by which it will farther appear, how well he knew to make a borrowed thought or description his own, by the propriety of the application.

Michael thus speaks of what would happen to Paradise in the universal deluge.

— — — Then shall this mount
Of Paradise, by might of waves be mov'd
Out of his place, push'd by the horned flood,
With all his verdure spoil'd, and trees adrift,
Down the great river to the opening gulf;
And there take root, an iland salt and bare,
The haunt of seals, and orcs, and seaw-mews clang *.

Delos, in Homer's hymn to Apollo, tells Latona, that he is unwilling that Apollo should be born in his island,

Μη ὀπολαν τοπρωλον ιδη φαος ηελιοιο,
Νησον αλιμηση, επειη κραναηπεδος ειμι,
Ποσσι κατας-ρεψας, ωση δ' ἁλος εν πελαγεσσιν.
Ενθ' εμε μεν μεγα Κυμα καλα κραλος αλος αιει
Κλυσσει· ὁ δ' αλλην γαιαν αφιξεῖαι η κεν αδη ὁι,
Τευξασθαι νεονλε, χ᾽ αλσεα δενδρηενλα.
Πελυποδες δ' εν εμοι θαλαμας, Φωκαιλε μελαιναι
Οικια ποιησονλαι, ακηδεα χηλεϊ λαων.

---

* Par. Lost, xi. 829.——By the way, *clang* occurs in Shakespeare, in Milton's sense,

Have I not in a pitched battle heard
Loud larums, neighing steeds, and trumpets *clang*?
Tam. of Shrew, a. i. sc. 7.

Ne, cum primum videat lumen solis,
Insulam dedecoret, (quoniam asperum solum sum)
Pedibus conculcans, & impellet in maris pelagus.
Ubi me quidem magna unda, magna vi abunde semper
Inundabit; ille autem ad aliam terram veniet, ubi placuerit ipsi,
Constructurus templum, lucosque arboribus densos.
Polypodes autem in me thalamos, Phocæque nigræ
Domicilia facient, neglecta multitudine hominum.

In the same book, some of the circumstances in Michael's account of the flood seem to be drawn from an Ode of Casimir, entitled, *Noe Vaticinium.*

— — — Sea cover'd sea,
Sea without shore; and in their palaces,
Where luxury late reign'd, sea-monsters whelp'd
And stabled *. ——

Noah is introduced by Casimir, thus describing the effects of the flood.

Aut ubi turrigeræ potentum
Arces Gigantum? queis modo liberi

* Ibid 749.

Festo choreas agmine plausimus,
Delphines insultant plateis,
Et vacuas spaciosa cete
Ludunt per aulas, ac thalamos pigræ
Pressere Phocæ*. — — —

B. ii. c. v. s. vi.

— — The upper marge
Of his seven-folded shield. — —

This seems to be Virgil's

Clypei extremos septemplicis orbes †.

B. ii. c. v. s. xxxiii.

The *sugred* liquor thro' his melting lips.

Sugred, to express excessive sweetness, was a frequent epithet with the poets of this age, and with those of the ages before it. It answered to the *mellitus* of the Romans.

B. ii. c. vi. s. viii.

But to weak *wench* did yeeld his martial might.

---

* Lyricor. b. iv. od. 27. † Æn. xii. 925.

Some late editors of Shakespeare have endeavoured to prove, that *wench* did not anciently carry with it the idea of meanness or infamy. But in this place it plainly signifies a loose woman; and in the following passages of Chaucer. January having suspected his wife May's conjugal fidelity, May answers,

> I am a *gentlewoman*, and no *wench* *.

And in the House of Fame, *wench* is coupled with *groom*,

> Lord and ladie, *grome*, and *wench* †.

And in the Manciple's Tale.

> And for that tother is a pore woman,
> And shall be called his *wench*, or his lemman ‡.

We must allow, notwithstanding, that it is

* Marchant's Tale, 1719. † Ver. 206.
‡ Ver. 1796.

used by Douglass without any dishonourable meaning. The following verse of Virgil,

— — Audetque viris concurrere *virgo*.

is thus expressed in the Scotch Æneid;

This *wenſche* ſtoutlye rencounter durſt with men.

But I believe it will most commonly be found in the sense given it by Chaucer. In the Bible it is used for a girl, " And a *wench* told him, &c."

B. ii. c. vi. s. viii.

— One sweet drop of sensuall delight.

Lucretius, the warmest of the Roman poets, has given us this metaphor.

— — Dulcedinis in cor
Stillavit gutta *. — — —

B. ii. c. vi. s. xxviii.

Thou *recreant* knight. — —

* iv 1054.

Recreant knight is a term of romance. Thus in Morte Arthur. "Then said the knight to the king, thou art in my daunger whether me lyst to save thee or to sley thee; and but thou yeeld thee as overcome and *recreant*, thou shalt dye. As for death, said King Arthur, welcome be it when it cometh; but as to yeeld me to thee as *recreant*, &c. *."

B. ii. c. vii. s. iii.

In smith's fire-spetting forge. — —

Spett seems anciently to have more simply signified *disperse*, without the low idea which we at present affix to it. Thus Milton, in Comus.

— — — When the dragon woom
Of Stygian darkness *spetts* her thickest gloom.

---

* i, 21.

And Drayton, in the Barons Wars, of an exhalation,

— — — *Spetteth* his lightening forth *.

B. i. c. viii. s. v.

A description of an angel.

Beside his head there sate a faire young man
Of wondrous beauty, and of freshest yeares,
Whose tender bud to blossom new began,
And flourish faire above his equall peares;
His snowy front, curled with golden heares,
Like Phœbus face adorn'd with sunny rayes,
Divinely shone; and two sharp-winged sheares
Decked with diverse plumes like painted jayes,
Were fixed at his backe, to cut his ayerie wayes.

Milton†, in his description of Satan under the form of a stripling-cherub, has highly improved upon Spenser's angel, and Tasso's Gabriel‡, both which he seems to have had in his eye, as well as in his Raphael§. Many

* B. ii. st. 35.
† Par. Lost. iii. 636.
‡ C. i. s. 13.
§ v. 276.

authors, before Milton, have described angels, in which they have insisted only upon the graces of youth and beauty. But it must be granted, that our great countryman was the first that ever attempted to give, with becoming majesty, the idea of an *armed angel.* He, probably, received some hints, in this respect, from paintings, which he had seen in Italy; particularly from one by Guido, where Michael, clad in celestial panoply, triumphs over Satan chained.

B. ii. c. x. s. vii.

Speaking of Albion,

> But farre in land a salvage nation dwelt
> Of hideous giants. — — —

This puts me in mind of Geoffry of Monmouth's account of the original state of Albion. " Erat tunc nomen insulæ Albion, quæ a nemine nisi a *paucis Gigantibus* inha-

"Out of her *defiled* bed."

SHAKESPEARE.

For Bancho's issue have I *fil'd* my mind *.

B. iii. c. ii. s. xxv.

He bore a crowned little ermilin,
That deckt the azure field with her faire *pouldred* skin.

That is, with her skin spotted, or *variegated;* in its primary sense, *besprinkled:* this is the genuine spelling of *powdered*, according to the etymology to which Skinner conjectures it to belong, viz. *a pulvere, conspergo pulvere.* We find the substantive *Powder* generally spelled thus in old authors.

Thus B. Jonson,

And of the *Poulder*-plot they will talk yet †.

Spenser again uses the verb in its sense, *besprinkle*,

* Macbeth, act. iii. sc. 2. † Epig. xcii.

Which two last instances are more like Virgil's *ferreus imber.*

B. ii. c. xi. s. xxxv.

— — — Thereby there lay
An huge great stone which stood upon one end,
And had not been removed many a day.
* * * * * * * * *

xxxvi.

The same he snatcht, and with exceeding sway
Threw at his foe. — — —

Among other instances of the extraordinary strength exerted by ancient heroes in lifting huge stones, as described by the ancient poets, I think the following in Apollonius has never been alleged by the commentators. Jason crushes the growing warriors with a prodigious stone.

Λαζεῖο δ' ἐκ πεδίοιο μεγαν περιηγερὰ πείρον
Δεινον ενυαλιω σολον Αρεος· ω κε μιν ανδρες
Αιζηοι πισυρες γαιης απο τυΐθον αειραν.
Τον ρ' ανα χειρα λαβων μαλα τηλοθεν εμβαλε μεσσοις
Λιξας *. — — — —

Arripit e campo magnum et rotundum saxum,
Mirum Martis Gradivi discum; non ipsum viri
Juvenes quatuor ne paulum quidem terra elevassent;
Id sumptum in manibus valde procul in medios
abjecit
Insiliens. — — —

But the more delicate critics ought to remember, that Jason was assisted in this miraculous effort by the enchantments of Medea.

B. ii. c. xii. s. lx.

And in the midst of all a fountaine stood.

Hardly any thing is described with greater pomp and magnificence than artificial foun-

* Αργον. b. iii. 1364.

tains in romance. See a glorious one in Ariosto, 42. 91.

Fountains were a common ornament of gardens in Spenser's age; and were often finely decorated with statues, devices, and other costly furniture, like this in the Bowre of Blisse. I think they are mentioned as very sumptuous by Hentznerus*, in the gardens of Nonesuch†. Bacon has left directions about them in his Essay on Gardens. "*Fountains* I intend of two natures. For the first, the ornaments of images gilt, or of marble, *which are in use*, do well.——As for the other kind of *fountaine*, which we may call a bathing poole, it may admit much curiosity and beauty.——As that the bottom be finely paved, and with images: the sides

* Pauli Hentzneri, J. C. Itinerarium, &c. 8vo. Noribergæ, 1629. The Tour through England was performed, 1598. It begins pag. 168.

† Pag. 228. See also Camden's Brit. in Surrey.

likewise, and withal embellished with coloured glasse, and such things of lustre; encompassed also with fine railes of low statues*." Thus Spenser's fountain was,

Of *richest Substance* that on earth might bee,
So *pure* and *shiny*, that the silver floode
Through every channel one might *running see*.
Most goodly it with *pure imageree*
Was over-wrought, and shapes of *naked boys*,
Of which some seemd with livelie jollitee
To fly about, playing their wanton toyes,
Whilst others did themselves *embay* in liquid joyes.

This fountain falls into an ample laver, *or bathing poole*, of which,

— Through the waves one might the *bottom see*,
All *pavd* beneathe with *jasper*, *shining bright*.

B. ii. c. xii. s. lxxxi.

But one above the rest in speciall
That had an hog been late, hight Grill by name,
Repined greatly, and did him miscall,
That had from human shape him brought to naturall.

* Essayes, xlvi.

Dr. Jortin * observes, that this fiction is taken from a dialogue in Plutarch, inscribed, ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΤΑ ΑΛΟΓΑ ΛΟΓΩ ΧΡΗΣΘΑΙ; where Gryllus, one of the companions of Ulysses, transformed into a hog by Circe, holds a discourse with Ulysses, and refuses to be restored to his human shape.

Not many years before the Fairy Queen was written, viz. 1548, Gelli published his Circe, which is said in the preface to be founded upon the dialogue of Plutarch, mentioned by Jortin. Circe soon became a very popular book, and was translated into English in the year 1557, by one Henry Iden; so that, probably, Spenser had read it; and might be induced to consult that dialogue, from its mention in the preface. "Swinish *Grill*" is mentioned by Hall †.

* Remarks, pag. 77. † Satyres, sat. ii. b. ii.

B. iii. c. i. s. xiv.

Save beares, lyons, and buls, which romed them around.

This verse would be improved in its harmony, by reading,

Save lyons, beares, and buls, &c.

As would the following also,

Yet was admired much of fooles, *women*, and boyes.
5. 2. 30.

If we were to read,

Yet was admired much of *women*, fooles, and boyes.

But these corrections are made by the critic upon a supposition that his author must have infallibly written what was best.

It may be laid down as a general rule, that an alexandrine cannot be harmonious without a full pause after the third foot. For example,

That spear enchanted *was*—which laid thee on the green.

Consequently the sixth syllable must necessarily be a monosyllable, or the last syllable of a word; for we cannot make a full pause in the middle of a word: upon which account such alexandrines as these are necessarily inharmonious.

So in his angry *cour*—*age* fairly pacify'd.

That bore a lyon *pass*—*ant* in a golden field.

But that he must do *bat*—*tel* with the sea-nymph's son.

And to her watry *cham*—*ber* swiftly carry him.

And because a full pause must be made on the last syllable of the third foot, the third foot should never consist of a trochee, for then we should be obliged to lay the greater stress upon the short syllable; as if the third foot was *beăuty, coŭrăge, grēedy, flōwry,* or the like.

And it may be further remarked, that an

iambus, for the third foot, will make the verse more musical, as the pause will be more strong after a short syllable.

Thus,

Fit to adorn *thĕ dēad*,—and deck the dreary tomb.

That art thus *foully flĕd*—from famous enemy.

For the same reason an iambic foot at the end of any English verse has a good effect; and it is to such a collocation that Dryden's versification owes great part of its harmony.

An alexandrine entirely consisting of iambic feet, answers precisely to a pure tetrametrical iambic verse of the ancients.

Thus,

Thĕ gĕntlĕ Evĕ ăwākes rĕfrĕshfŭll āirs ărŏŭnd,

Equēs sŏnāntĕ vērbĕrābit ūngŭlā.

In reading this kind of measure, the an-

cients did not, probably, huddle the syllables together, as we do: but it would be difficult to point out the places at which they made their pauses. Why should the following pure iambic of Sophocles *,

Λυειμενη μεν ως εοικας αυ ϛρεφη,

be read like mere prose, without any certain pause, or division? And this verse of Anacreon †,

Θελω λεγειν Αΐρειδας,

Be read with these rests,

Θελω—λεγειν—Αΐρει—δας?

May we not suppose, that the iambic of Sophocles was read with some such divisions as these,

Λυει—μενη—μεν—ως—εοι—κας αυ—ϛρεφη?

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* Elect. v. 518. † Od. i. v. 1.

Which are not very unlike those which we make use of in reading the above English alexandrine (or iambic) verse,

The gen—tle Eve—awakes—refresh—full airs—around.

It may be observed, that a Latin hexameter is essentially distinguished from a prose sentence, only by being terminated with a dactyle preceding a spondee; upon which account our manner of reading the endings of such hexameters as these,

Procumbit humi bos,—oceano nox,—amica luto sus, &c.

is probably wrong*; for according to the modern fashion of pronouncing them, the whole verse doth not differ in sound from an *oratio prosaica;* in contradiction therefore

* This supposition will be more readily allowed, since Mr. Johnson has indisputably proved, that such monosyllabic terminations were not always intended by their authors as mechanical echoes to the sense, according to an opinion equally chimerical and inveterate.

to the reigning practice, we should take care to express the dactyle and spondee thus—*ocean—o nox;* and so of the rest. And that this was the practice of the ancients, may be farther inferred from these words of Quintilian, on reading verses, " Sit lectio virilis, et cum severitate quadam gravis; et non quidem Prosæ similis, quia Carmen est *.

B. iii. c. i. s. lvi.

And every knight, and every gentle squire
Gan chuse his dame with *bascio mani* gay.

With *bascio mani*, Ital. with kissing her hands: a phrase, perhaps, common in our author's age, when Italian manners were universally affected.

B. iii. c. i. s. lxii.

—— —— Out of her *filed* bed.

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* Instit. Orat. l. i. c. 8.

"Out of her *defiled* bed."

SHAKESPEARE.

For Bancho's issue have I *fil'd* my mind *.

B. iii. c. ii. s. xxv.

He bore a crowned little ermilin,
That deckt the azure field with her faire *pouldred* skin.

That is, with her skin spotted, or *variegated;* in its primary sense, *besprinkled:* this is the genuine spelling of *powdered,* according to the etymology to which Skinner conjectures it to belong, viz. *a pulvere, conspergo pulvere.* We find the substantive *Powder* generally spelled thus in old authors.

Thus B. Jonson,

And of the *Poulder*-plot they will talk yet †.

Spenser again uses the verb in its sense, *besprinkle,*

* Macbeth, act. iii. sc. 2.

† Epig. xcii.

—— —— A crowne
Powdred with pearle and stone. ——

5. 10. 31.

Thus Sir Philip Sydney, in Astrophell and Stella *,

Some one his song in Jove, and Jove's strange tales attires,
Border'd with buls and swans, *powdred* with golden raine.

Thus Harrington,

—— —— A horse of dainty hew
* * * * * * * *
His colkour py'd, *powdred* with many a spot †.

Again, where it may be interpreted, *embroider.*

She dreamt the bases of her loved knight,
Which she embroidred blacke the other day,
With spots of red were *powdred* all in sight ‡.

---

* St. vi. † xix. 53. ‡ xliii. 148.

Thus also Chaucer,

> Full gay was all the ground, and queint,
> And *powdred* as men had it peint *.
> The grounde was grene, *ypoudred* with daisye †.

And, in the following example, it seems to be literally used for *embroidering*.

> Aftir a sorte the collir and the vente
> Lyke as armine is made in purfilinge,
> With grete perlis ful fine and orient,
> They were couchid all aftir one worching,
> With diamondes instede of *poudiring* ‡.

I had not collected all these instances, but with a design of placing an expression of Milton in a proper light.

> — — The Galaxy, that milky way,
> Which nightly as a circling zone thou seest
> *Powdred* with stars §. — —

That is, " The milky way, which every night appears to you, like a circling zone or

---

* Rom. R. v. 115. † Cuckow and Night, v. 63.
‡ Ass. l. 526. § Par. Lost. vii. 579.

belt, *besprinkled* or *embroidered* with stars." To the majority of readers, I am persuaded, *powdred with stars* has ever appeared a very mean, or rather ridiculous metaphor. It occurs in Sackville's *Induction* to the *Mirror of Magistrates.*

> Then looking upwards to the heaven's leames,
> With night's bright *starres thick-powdred* every where.

That is, *thick-besprinkled,* or *variegated.*

Sandys, in his notes to the *Christus Patiens* of Grotius, speaking of the veil in Solomon's Temple, says, that " it was *powdred* with cherubims *." It is an expression of heraldry.

B. iii. c. ii. s. xli.

> Sweet Love such lewdness bands from his fair company.

---

* Act iv. ver. 296.

To *band*, properly signifies to *join together in a company, to assemble;* as in *The Acts*, "And when it was day, certain of the Jews *banded* together*." Spenser, therefore, either for the convenience of the verse, used *bands* for *disbands;* or, what is most probable, the word was written in his copy *banns*, which, according to Junius, is to *forbid by proscription, interdicere;* and from whence the verb to *banish* is derived:

> Sweet Love such lewdness *banns* from his faire company.
>
> B. iii. c. ii. s. xlviii.

> For the faire damsell from the holy *herse*
> Her love-sicke heart to other thoughts did steale.

From the *holy herse*, is, I suppose, the same as if he had said, from the *holy hersal* which is used afterwards.

* Ch. xxiii. ver. 12.

— Sad *hersal* of his heavy stresse.

3. 11. 18.

So that *holy herse* is here the rehearsal of the prayers in the church-service, at which Britomart is now described as present. *Herse* occurs in the Pastoral of November, as the burden of Colin's song; "O heavie *herse*," and, "O happie *herse*;" where E. K. interprets *herse*, "The solemne Obsequie in Funerals."

B. iii. c. iii. s. xiv.

And writing straunge *characters* in the ground.

So Milton, with the same emphasis, in Comus.

— — — Reason's mintage
Charactered in the face. — —

We have the expression "Joy *charactered* in their face," in an old book, giving a relation of King James's progress from Scotland to London, 1603. But I am chiefly

induced to mention this piece, as it has preserved the following curious and singular proof of that monarch's military genius. "Amongst which warlike traine, [at Berwicke] as his Majestie was very pleasant and gracious, so to shew instance how he *loved* and *respected* the arte militarie, hee made a shot himselfe out of a canon, *so fair*, and with such *signe of experience*, that the most expert gunners there beheld it not without *admiration:* and there was none of judgment present, but, without *flattery*, gave it just *commendation.*——Of no little estimation did the gunners account themselves in, after this *kingly shot**."

B. iii. c. iii. s. xxvi.

But sooth he is the sonne of Gorlois.

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* The true Narration of the Entertainment of his Royall Majestie, from the time of his departure from Edenborough, &c. Lond. 1603. Sign c 3.

This is the Gorlois of whom Milton speaks,

> Tum gravidam Arturo, fatali fraude, Iogernen,
> Mendaces vultus, assumptaque Gorlois arma,
> Merlini dolus *, — — —

Geoffrey of Monmouth informs us, that Uther Pendragon fell in love with Igerne, or Iogerne, the wife of Gorlois, Prince of Cornwall. In the absence of Gorlois, Merlin, by his magic, transformed Uther into the likeness of Gorlois, and one Ulfin into the likeness of Jordan, a familiar friend of Gorlois, himself assuming the figure of one Bricel; by means of which artifice, Uther enjoyed Iogerne, and begot King Arthur †. Spenser, in his Epistle to Sir Walter Raleigh, calls Iogerne, or Igerne, the Lady *Igrayne;* and she is so called in *Morte Arthur.*

* Epitaph. Damonis. 166. † B. viii. c. 19.

B. iii. c. iii. s. liii.

Bardes tell of many women valorous
Which have full many feates adventurous
Perform'd in paragone of proudest men:
The bold Bonduca, whose victorious
Exploits made Rome to quake, stout Guendolen,
Renowned Martia, and redoubted Emmelen.

Glauce, with the greatest propriety, is here made to allude to the bards, whose * business it was to sing to the harp the warlike achievements of their countrymen, and who flourished, in high perfection, at the time in which our author has supposed the events of the *Faerie Queene* to have happened. They are introduced, with no less consistency, playing upon their harps, in the hall of the *House of Pride.*

— Many bards that to the trembling chord
Can tune their timely voices cunningly.

I. 5. 3.

* Leland de Script. Brit. cap. ii.

The bards were usually employed upon such public occasions, *in hall or bower*, as Milton sings.

B. iii. c. v. s. xxxii.

There whether it divine Tobacco were,
Or Panacea, or Polygony.

Tobacco was, at this time, but newly discovered to the English, and not an ordinary herb, as it is at present. Probably Tobacco is here mentioned, with so much honour, with an intent to pay a compliment to Sir Walter Raleigh, our author's friend and patron, who first introduced and used Tobacco in England, 1584.

It would have been dangerous to have complimented this salutary plant with such a panegyric in the succeeding reign. One of the questions discussed before James I. at Oxford, 1605, was, " Utrum frequens suffitus *Nicotianæ exoticæ* sit Sanis salutaris ?" The

negative was proved, to the great satisfaction of the king*.

B. iii. c. vii. s. vi.

There in a gloomy hollowe glen she found
A little cottage built of stickes and reedes,
In homely wise, and wall'd with sods around,
In which a witch did dwell, in loathly weedes,
And wilfull want, all carelesse of her needes.

Witches were thought really to exist in the age of Queen Elizabeth, and our author had, probably, been struck with seeing such a cottage as this, in which a witch was supposed to live. Those who have perused Blackwall's Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer, will be best qualified to judge how much better enabled that poet is to describe, who copies from living objects, than he who describes, in a later age, from tradition.

* Rex Platonicus, pag. 82. Oxon. 4to. 1607.

B. iii. c. vii. s. ix.

Wiping the tears from her *suffused* eyes.

So Virgil,

Tristior, atque oculos lacrymis *suffusa* nitentes *.

B. iii. c. vii. s. lii.

Hèr well beseemes that *quest*. — — .

Quest is a term properly belonging to romance, importing the expedition in which the knight is engaged, and which he is obliged to perform. It is a very common word with Spenser.

B. iii. c. viii. s. ii. iv.

The witch shews a part of Florimel's girdle to her son, who, seeing it, thinks her dead. This incident is like a passage in the Seven Champions. St. George finding, by the

* Æn. i. v. 221.

light of the moon, the chain which Sabra used to wear about her neck, besmeared with blood, supposes her to have been ravished and slain by the giant of the inchanted tower. "O discontented sight, said he, here is the chain besmeared in blood, which, at our first acquaintance, I gave her in a stately maske *."

B. iii. c. viii. s. xxxix.

Sometimes he boasted, that a god he hight
But she a mortal creature loved best;
Then he would make himself a mortal wight,
But then she said she lov'd none but a fairie knight.

xl.

Then like a fairie knight himself he drest.

The use which the poet here makes of Proteus's power of changing his shape, is artful enough; having a novelty founded on propriety.

* B. i. c. 16.

B. iii. c. x. s. viii.

— Ballads, * *virelayes*, and verses vaine.

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* As the name of *G. Gascoigne* has been frequently mentioned in the course of this work, it may not be, perhaps, improper to give the reader some further knowledge of him. His works were printed An. 1576, with this title, " A hundreth sundrie flowres, bounde up in one small poesie; gathered, partly by translation, in the fine and outlandish gardens of Euripides, Ovid, Petrarke, Ariosto, and others; and partely by invention, out of our own fruitefull orchardes in Englande; yielding sundrie sweet savours of tragicall, comicall, and morall discourses, both pleasaunt and profitable to the well-smellyng noses of learned readers." This was followed by another edition, An. 1587. This author was well esteemed by his cotemporary writers, as appears by their testimonies of him; and it must be confessed, that he has much exceeded all the poets of his age, in smoothness and harmony of versification. Would it not extend this note too far, as a specimen of his talent for love-verses, I would produce his Ode, " In praise of Lady Bridges, now Ladie Sandes, on a scar on her forehead," in which the reader would be surprised to find a delicacy, rarely to be seen in that early state of our poetry.

But the reader will, probably, be still more entertained with some passages in *Jocasta*, a Tragedie, (before-mentioned) written ten years before the poem just quoted,

Virelayes are often mentioned by Chaucer, and our old poets. G. Gascoigne, in

and acted at Gray's Inn, 1566, in which he will not only perceive the strength and harmony, but likewise the poetical spirit, of Spenser, who did not publish any of his pieces till fourteen years afterwards. The story is taken, and in some measure translated, from the *Phoenissæ* of Euripides; it is written in blank verse, with chorusses, none of which are copied from those in *Phœnissæ*. Before each Act, according to the practice of that age, the *dumb-shew* is introduced. In act 2, a combat is likely to ensue, between Eteocles and Polynices; on which occasion the chorus, consisting of four Theban dames, sings an Ode, which thus begins.

O fierce and furious God! whose harmefull harte
Rejoyceth most to shed the giltlesse blood;
Whose headie will doth all the world subvert,
And doth envy the pleasaunt merry moode
Of our estate, that erst in quiet stoode;
Why dost thou thus our harmlesse towne annoy
Which mightie Bacchus governed in joye?

Father of warre and death! that dost remove
With wrathfull wrecke from wofull mothers breast
The trustie pledges of her tender love;
So graunt the Gods, that for our final rest,
Dame Venus, pleasaunt lookes may charm thee best,
Whereby when thou shall all amazed stand,
The sword may fall out of thy trembling hand:

his Defence of Rhime, gives this account of virelayes. "There is an old kinde of rhyme called *Verlayes*, derived, as I have redde, of the worde *verde*, which betokeneth *greene*, and *laye*, which betokeneth a *song*, as if you would say *greene songes*. But I must tell you by the way, that I never redde any verse which I saw by authoritie called *Verlay*, but one; and that was a long discourse in verses of tenne syllabeles. whereof the four first did

---

And thou maist prove some other way full well
The bloudie prowesse of thy mightie speare,
Wherewith thou raisest from the depths of hell,
The wrathfull sprites of all the furies there,
Who when they wake, doe wander everie where,
And never rest to raunge about the coastes,
T' enrich their pit with spoile of damned ghostes.

And when thou hast our fields forsaken thus,
Let cruell *Discorde* beare thee companie,
Engirt with snakes, and serpents venemous,
E'en she, that can with red vermillion dye
The gladsome grecne, that flourish'd pleasantly,
And make the greedy ground a drinking cup
To sup the blood of murder'd bodies up.

Yet thou return, O Joye, &c. &c.

rhyme across; and "the fyfth did answere to the fyrst and thyrde, breaking off there, and so going on to another termination. Of this I could shew example of imitation, in myne owne verses written to the Right Honourable the Lorde Grey of Wilton," E. G.

"A strange conceit, a vaine of new delight
Twixt weale and woe, 'twixt weale and bitter griefe,
Hath pricked foorth my hastie pen to write
This worthlesse verse, in hazard of reproofe,
And to mine alder-lievest lord I must indite *."

B. iij. c. x. s. xii.

As Hellene when she sawe aloft appeare
The Trojane flames, and reach to Heavens hight,
Did clap her hands, and joyed at that dolefull sight.

Virgil tells us, that Helen, while Troy was burning, hid herself for fear.

Illa sibi infestos eversa ob Pergama Teucros,
Et pœnas Danaum, et deserti conjugis iras
Permetuens, Trojæ et patriæ communis erynnis,
Abdiderat sese, atquæ aris invisa sedebat †.

---

* See *Chevræana*, edit. 1700. partie ii. pag. 241.
† Æn. ii. 571.

Spenser's lines put me in mind of a thought in one of Daniel's sonnets, which seems to be copied by Waller.

> Who whilst I burne she sings at my soules wracke
> Looking aleft from turret of her pride;
> There my soules tyrant joyes her in the sacke
> Of her owne seat *.

Daniel here alludes to a circumstance related of Nero; and Waller seems to have imitated Daniel's application of it.

> Thus Nero with his harp in hand survey'd
> His burning Rome, and as it burnt he play'd †.

B. iii. c. x. s. xxxv.

> For having slight her bells, her up he cast
> To the wide world, and let her fly alone.

Here is a metaphor taken from hawking; a diversion highly fashionable in our author's age, to which he frequently alludes, and from whence he has drawn a very great num-

* Sacke. † On my Lady Isabella playing on the lute.

ber of comparisons. The hawk's bells are mentioned afterwards,

> Like as an hawke, that feeling herself freed
> From bells and jesses, which did let her flight.
> 6. 4. 19.

A knowledge of hunting and falconry was an essential requisite in accomplishing the character of a knight *. Of all the knights of the *round table,* Sir Tristram possessed these qualifications in the most eminent degree. Sir Ewaine is mentioned in the romance *Court Mantel* as one,

> Qui tant ama *chiens* et *oiseaux* †.

The prize at a justing in *Morte Arthur* is, " a faire maiden, and a *Jar-Fawcon* ‡."

* The very sensible and ingenious author of *Dialogues Moral and Political,* [Lond. 1759. p. 114.] has promised a Dissertation on the *Rise* and *Genius* of Chivalry. Every reader of taste will be greatly disappointed if he should not be so good as his word.

† La Curne de S. Palaye. tom. ii. p. 62.

‡ B. iii. ch. 20.

But, in more modern times, the writer of the history of Bayard, describing the dinner which Charles VIII. gave to the Duke of Savoy at Lyons, says, " qu' il y eut plusieurs propos tenus tant de *chiens*, d'*oisauls*, d'armes, que d' amours *."

This sport was unknown to the Romans, and the first use of it is mentioned about the time of Alaric the Goth, by Julius Firmicus. It was imported into Europe from the Turks, and other eastern nations, where it became chiefly cultivated by the English. It appears in Julian Barnes's *Booke of Haukyng*, &c. that there were hawks appropriated to all degrees of people, from an emperor, down to the holy-water clerk †. To *carry a hawk fair*, was a principal accomplishment of a young nobleman. Stowe tells us, that " in hunting and hawking many grave citizens [of

* Edit Godefroi, ch. v. p. 18.

† Printed by Caxton, 1486. cap. ult.

London] have at this present great delight, and do rather want *leisure*, than good will to follow it*." This diversion was pursued to such an extravagance in the reign of James I. that Sir Thomas Monson, a famous falconer, was at the charge of a thousand pounds in goshawks, only for one flight†. One of the claims at the coronation, still kept up, is to present the king, while at dinner, in Westminster-hall, with a pair of falcons.

B. iii: c. xi. Introd.

Assayes the house of *Busyrane*.

He seems to have drawn this name from Busiris, the King of Ægypt, famous for his cruelty and inhospitality.

* Survey of London. ed. 1616. pag. 147.

† Weldon's Character and Court of King James, 1650. 12mo. pag. 105.

B. iii. c. xi. s. xxv.

Her ample shield she threw before her face;
And her swords point directing forward right,
Assaild the flame, the which eftsoones gave place,
And did itself divide with equal space,
That through she passed. — —

The circumstance of the fire, mixed with a most noisom smoak, which prevents Britomart from entering into the *House of Busyrane*, is, I think, an obstacle, which we meet with in the *Seven Champions of Christendom.* And there are many incidents in this achievment of Britomart, parallel to those in the adventure of the Black Castle, and the enchanted Fountain.

Milton, who tempered and exalted the extravagance of romance, with the dignity of Homer, has given us a noble image, which, like that before us, seems to have had it's foundation in some description which he had

met with in books of chivalry. Satan emerges from the burning lake.

Forthwith upright he rears from off the pool
His mighty stature; on each hand the flames
Driv'n backward slope their pointing spires, and roll'd
In billows, leave i' th' midst a horrid vale *.

B. iii. c. xii. s. i.

She heard a shrilling trompet sound aloud,
Signe of nighe battel, or got victory.

" After this he heard the sound of drums, and the chearfull echoes of brazen trumpets; by which the valiaunt champion expected some honourable pastime, or some great turnament to be at hand †."

B. iii. c. xii. s. xli.

He bound that piteous lady prisoner now releast.

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* Paradise Lost, b. i. v. 222.
† Sev. Champ. b. i. ch. 5.

Dr. Jortin observes, that Spenser, to the best of his knowledge, never uses vers ; of six feet, except in the last line of the stanza, and in this place. But he had forgot these instances,

> And peril without showe; therefore your hardy stroke.
>
> 1. 1. 12.

Again,

> But whilst his stony heart was toucht with tender ruth.
>
> 4. 12. 13.

Again,

> Sad death revived with her sweet inspection.
>
> 4. 12. 34.

We meet with an alexandrine in the *Samson Agonistes*, which I believe was not left so by the author.

> But I God's counsel have not kept, his holy secret
> Presumptuously have publish'd, &c. *.

* 497.

The preceding line is,

The mark of fool set on his front?

Perhaps we should read,

The mark of fool set on his front? but I
God's counsel have not kept, his holy secret
Presumptuously have publish'd, &c.

To return to the line of this remark.

He bound that piteous lady prisoner now releast.

It is probable that *prisoner* was absurdly thrown in by the printers; and as the measure is preserved, so is the sense equally clear, if not more so, without it. A poet who read Spenser with true taste, Mr. James Thompson, had struck it out, and I suppose for this reason, in his Spenser, as superfluous.

B. iv. c. ii. s. ii.

Such musick is wise words with time *concented.*

Concented, from the substantive *concent,* which is often repeated in our author.

All which together sung full chearfully
A lay of loves delight with sweet *concent.*
3. 12. 5.

And in Virgil's Gnat,

But the small birds in their wide boughs embowring,
Chaunted their sundry tunes with sweet *concent* *.

Probably in the *Epithalamion,* where Spenser is speaking of many birds singing together,

So goodly all agree with sweet *consent,*

Instead of *consent,* we should read *concent* †.

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* The verses in the original are,
At volucres patulis residentes dulcia ramis
Carmina per varios edunt resonantia cantus.
V. 144.
Which I produce, to shew, that the word was dictated to Spenser by *cantus* in the Latin.

† Ver. 497.

Milton uses the word in his poem, at a *Solemn Music*,

> That undisturbed song of pure *concent*
> Aye sung before the sapphire-colourd throne.

As it has been restored instead of *content*, upon the best authority; in the late very useful edition of Milton's poetical works.

Our author has *concent* in the *Hymne in Honour of Beautie.*

> For love is a celestial harmonie
> Of likewise harts composd of starres *concent*.

Almost in the same sense, *consent* should be read *concent* in this passage of Jonson.

> When lookd the yeare at best
> So like a feast?
> Or were affaires in tune,
> By all the sphears *consent*, so in the heat of June*.

---

* Epithalamion on Mr. Weston, &c.

B. iv. c. ii. s. xlv.

As she sate carelesse by a crystall flood,
Combing her golden locks, as seemd her good :—
And unawares upon her laying holde.

Thus Dulcippa is forcibly carried away by the knight of the two heads. "So sitting down upon a green banke under the shaddow of a myrtle tree, she pulled a golden cawl from her head, wherein her hair was wrapped, and taking out from her crystalline breast an ivory comb, she began to combe her hair, &c *." Milton's image of Ligea, in Comus, was drawn, and improved, from some romantic description of this kind.

By faire Ligea's golden combe,
Wherewith she sits on diamond rocks
Sleeking her soft alluring locks.

B. iv. c. vii. s. xxxvi.

Is this the faith? — — — —

* Seven Champ. b. ii. c. 16.

The secret history of this allegory is evidently the disgrace of Sir Walter Raleigh, for a criminal amour with one of Queen Elizabeth's maids of honour. The lady was brought to bed in the court, and Sir Walter was dismissed. The Queen's *anger* on this occasion was extremely *natural.* Nothing more strongly characterizes the predominant tendency of the Queen's mind than the account given by Sir Robert Naunton, of the first appearance and reception of the young Lord Mountjoy at court. " He was then much about twenty yeares of age, brown haired, of a sweet face, and of a most neate composure, tall in his person. The Queene was then at White-hall, and at dinner, whither he came to see the fashion of the court; and the Queene had soone found him out and, with a kind of affected favour, asked her carver what he was? He answered, he knew him not; insomuch that an enquiry was made from one to another, who he might

be; 'till at length it was told the Queene, he was brother to the Lord William Mountjoy. This enquirie, with the eye of her Majestie fixed upon him, as she was wont to doe, and to daunt men she knew not, stirred the blood of the young gentleman, insomuch as his colour went and came, which the Queene observing, called unto him, and gave him her hand to kisse, encouraging him with gracious words and new lookes: and so diverting her speech to the Lords and Ladyes, she said that she no sooner observed him, but she knew there was in him some noble blood, with some other expressions of *pitty* towards his house; and then againe demanding his name, she said, faile you not to come to the court, &c *." Was it the Queen or the Woman who thus offered her hand to be kissed, and who thus excited and enjoyed the struggles of bashfulness, in this beautiful and

* Fragmenta Regalia, Quo. 1641. pag. 36. *Mountjoy.*

unexperienced youth? I might add, that this triumph over modesty does not discover much delicacy or sensibility.

B. iv. c. iii. s. i.

Speaking of mankind,

That every howre they knocke at deathes gate.

This recalls to my memory a beautiful image of Sackville, in his Induction to the Mirror of Magistrates, concerning the figure of *old age.*

His withred fist still knocking at death's dore.

Which perhaps is not more expressive than Chaucer's representation of *elde*, or old age. After telling us that Distress, Sickness, &c. always abide in her court, and are her senators, he adds,

The day and night her to torment
With cruell deth they her present;
And tellen her erlich and late,
That Deth stondeth armed at her gate.

Death's door was a common phrase in approved author's, and occurs in our translation of the psalms. "They were even hard at death's door*." It occurs again, 1. 8. 27. 1, 10. 27.

B. iv. c. iii. s. iii.

These warlike champions all in armour-*shine.*

Shine is likewise used as a substantive in Harrington's Ariosto,

— — The *shine* of armour bright †.

And in the psalms. "His lightenings gave *shine* unto the world ‡."

In Milton's Comus we read *sheen* as a substantive, which, as I remember, was generally used as an adjective in our ancient poets.

But far above, in spangled *sheen.*

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* Ps. cviii. v. 18. † xxxvii. 15. ‡ Ps. xcvii. 4.

And in the Ode on Christ's Nativity,

Thron'd in cælestial *sheen.*

Also in his Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester.

With thee there clad in radiant *sheen.*

As Milton is singular in the usage of *sheen*, the word *sheen*, used as a substantive in a sonnet supposed by Dr. Birch * to be written by Milton, ought to be admitted as an internal argument in favour of that hypothesis.

B. iv. c. iv. s. xii.

Against the turneiment which is not long.

The same mode of speaking occurs in the verse which is the burthen of the song in the *Prothalamion.*

Against the bridale day which is not long.

i. e. "approaching, near at hand."

* Life of Milton, prefixed to his Prose Works, vol. i.

B. iv. c. viii. s. xxix.

> More hard for hungry steed t' abstaine from pleasant *lare.*

Lare signifies a *bed.* Junius interprets it *cubile cervi;* and the *Lair of a deer* is a term of hunting still known and used. Thus Drayton,

> — — — Now when the *hart* doth heare
> The often-bellowing hounds to vent [scent] his secret *leyre**.

It is used by Milton,

> — — — Out of the ground uprose,
> As from his *lair,* the wild beast, where he wons
> In forest wild, in thicket, &c †.

Yet it here seems to be used for *pasture* or *grass;* in which, however, a *bed* may be made. So again below, s. 51.

> This giant's sonne that lies there on the *laire*
> An headlesse heap. — — —

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* Polyolb. Song. xiii.

† Paradise Lost. vii. 457.

B. iv. c. ix. Arg.

The *Squire of Lowe Degree* releast
Pæana takes to wife.

The Squire of Lo Degree is the title of an old romance, mentioned together with Sir Huon of Bordeaux; which, as we remarked before, is spoken of among a catalogue of ancient books, in the letter concerning Queen Elizabeth's entertainment at Kenelworth.

It seems to have been a phrase commonly known and used about this time, by the following speech of Fluellan in Shakespeare. "You called me yesterday *Mountain-squire*; but I will make you to day a *squire of low degree**."

B. iv. c. x. s. vi.

— — — — — — Did arise
On stately pillours framd after the Doricke guise.

---

* K. Hen. V. act v. sc. 1.

Although the Roman, or Grecian architecture, did not begin to prevail in England till the time of Inigo Jones, yet our communication with the Italians, and our imitation of their manners, produced some specimens of that style much earlier. Perhaps the earliest is Somerset-house, in the Strand, built about the year 1549, by the Duke of Somerset, uncle to Edward VI. The monument of Bishop Gardiner in Winchester cathedral, made in the reign of Mary, about 1555, is decorated with Ionic Pillars. Spenser's verses here quoted, bear an allusion to some of these fashionable improvements in building, which, at this time, were growing more and more into esteem. Thus also Bishop Hall, who wrote about the same time, viz. 1598.

> There findest thou some *stately Doricke frame*,
> Or *neat Ionicke* worke *. — — —

* B. v. s. 2.

But these ornaments were often absurdly introduced into the old Gothic style; as in the magnificent portico of the schools at Oxford, erected about the year 1613, where the builder, in a Gothic edifice, has affectedly displayed his universal skill in the modern architecture, by giving us all the five orders together. However, most of the great buildings of Queen Elizabeth's reign have a style peculiar to themselves, both in form and finishing; where, though much of the old Gothic is retained, and great part of the new taste is adopted, yet neither predominates; while both, thus indistinctly blended, compose a fantastic species, hardly reducible to any class or name. One of it's characteristics is the affectation of large and lofty windows; where, says Bacon, "you shall have sometimes *faire houses*, so *full* of *glass*, that one cannot tell where to become, to be out of the sun, &c*."

* Essays, xii.

After what has been here incidentally said on this subject, it may not be amiss to trace it higher, and to give some observations on the beginning and progressive state of architecture in England, down to the reign of Henry VIII. A period in which, or thereabouts, the true Gothic style is supposed to have expired.

The Normans, at the conquest, introduced arts and civility. The churches, before this, were of timber, or otherwise of very mean construction. The conqueror imported a more magnificent, though not a different, plan, and erected several stately churches and castles *. He built more than thirty monasteries, among which were the noble

* Videas ubique in villis ecclesias, in vicis et urbibus monasteria, *novo edificandi genere* exsurgere." Will. Malmesbur. Rex. Willhelmus. De Gest. Reg. Ang. l. 3. p. 57. fol. Lond. 1596, ed. Savil.

abbies of Battel and Selby. He granted a charter to Mauritius, Bishop of London, for rebuilding St. Paul's church with stone brought out of Normandy. He built the *white* tower, in the Tower of London. The style then used, consisted of round arches, round-headed windows, and round massy pillars, with a sort of regular capital and base, being an adulteration, or a rude imitation, of the genuine Grecian or Roman manner. This has been named the *Saxon Stile*, being the national architecture of our Saxon ancestors, before the conquest: for the Normans only extended its proportions, and enlarged its scale. But I suppose, at that time it was the common architecture of all Europe. Of this style many specimens remain: the transept of Winchester cathedral, built 1080: the two towers of Exeter cathedral, 1112: Christ-church cathedral at Oxford, 1180: the nave of Glocester cathedral, 1100: with many others. The most complete mo-

numents of it I can at present recollect are, the church of St. Cross near Winchester, built by Henry de Bloys, 1130; and the abbey church at Rumsey, in Hampshire; especially the latter, built by the same princely benefactor. Another evidence of this style, is a circular series of zig-zag sculpture, applied as a facing to porticos and other arches. The style which succeeded to this was not the absolute *Gothic*, or Gothic simply so called, but a sort of *Gothic Saxon*, in which the pure *Saxon* began to receive some tincture of the *Saracen* fashion. In this the massy rotund column became split into a cluster of agglomerated pilasters, preserving a base and capital, as before; and the short round-headed window was lengthened into a narrow oblong form, with a pointed top, in every respect much in the shape of a lancet; often decorated, in the inside, with slender pillars. These windows we frequently find, three together, the centre one being higher

than the two lights on each side. This style commenced about 1200. Another of its marks is a series of small, low, and close arch-work, sometimes with a pointed head, placed on outside fronts, for a finishing; as in the west end of Lincoln and Rochester cathedrals, and in the end of the southern transept of that of Canterbury. In this style, to mention no more, is Salisbury cathedral. Here we find, indeed, the pointed arch, and the angular, though simple, vaulting; but still we have not in such edifices of the improved or *Saxon Gothic*, the Ramified Window, one distinguishing characteristic of the absolute *Gothic* *. It is difficult to define these gradations; but still harder to explain conjectures of this kind in writing, which require ocular demonstration, and a conversation on the spot, to be clearly proved and illustrated.

* They then seem to have had no idea of a *Great Eastern* or *Western* Window.

The *Absolute Gothic*, or that which is free from all *Saxon* mixture, began with ramified windows, of an enlarged dimension, divided into several lights, and branched out at the top into a multiplicity of whimsical shapes and compartments, after the year 1300. The crusades had before dictated the pointed arch, which was here still preserved; but besides the alteration in the windows, fantastic capitals to the columns, and more ornament in the vaulting and other parts, were introduced. Of this fashion the body of Winchester cathedral, built by that munificent encourager of all public works, William of Wykeham, about the year 1390, will afford the justest idea. But a taste for a more ornamental style had, for some time before, began to discover itself. This appears from the choir of St. Mary's church at Warwick, begun*, at least, before Wykeham's improve-

* Viz. 1341. finished before 1395. Dugdale's Warwicksh. p. 345.

ments at Winchester, and remarkable for a freedom and elegance unknown before. That certain refinements in architecture began to grow fashionable early in the reign of Edward III. perhaps before, we learn from Chaucer's description of the structure of his *House of Fame.*

> And eke the hall and everie boure,
> Without peeces or joynings,
> But many subtell compassings.
> As habenries and pinnacles,
> Imageries and tabernacles,
> I sawe, and full eke of windowes *.

And afterwards,

> I needeth not you more to telle,
> * * * * * * * *
> Of these yates flourishings,
> Ne of compaces ne of carvings,
> Ne how the hacking in masonries,
> As corbetts and imageries †.

---

* B, iii. fol. 267, col. 2. edit. Speght.

† Ibid. fol. verso. col. 2.

And in an old poem, called *Pierce the Plowman's Creede**, written perhaps before Chaucer's, where the author is describing an abbey-church.

> Than I munte me forth the *Minstre* for to knowen,
> And awayted a woon, wonderly well ybild;
> With arches on everich half, and bellyche ycorven
> With crotchetes on corneres, with knottes of gold.
> Wyd windowes ywrought, ywriten full thicke.
> * * * * * * * * * * *
> Tombes upon tabernacles, tyld opon loft,
> Housed in hornes, harde sett abouten
> Of armed alabaustre. — — — —

These innovations, at length, were most beautifully displayed in the roof of the divinity-school at Oxford, which began to be built, 1427. The university, in their letters to Kempe, Bishop of London, quoted by Wood †, speak of this edifice as of one of the miracles of the age: They mention, par-

* See more of this below.

† Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. pag. 22.

The releasing of the prisoners is a ceremony constantly practised in romance, after the knight has killed the giant, and taken possession of his castle. It would be endless, and perhaps ridiculous, to point out all Spenser's allusions of this sort.

B. iv. c. x. Arg.

Scudamore doth his conquest tell
Of vertuous Amoret.

Scudamore is a name derived from *Scudo*, a *shield*, and *Amore*, *love*, Ital. because in this canto, s. 10. he wins the *Shield of Love*.

B. iv. c. x. s. xxxv.

Else would the waters overflow the lands,
And fire devour the air, and hell them quight.

I suppose he means, "Else the waters would overflow the lands, and fire devour the air, and hell would entirely devour both water and lands." But this is a most con-

in the variegation of its fretted roof, and the profusion of its ornamented spire-work*. The screen behind the altar, in the same cathedral, built 1525, far superior to that at St. Alban's, is also a striking pattern of this workmanship. We have some episcopal thrones highly executed in this taste. Such is that at Wells, built by Bishop Beckington, 1450: and that at Exeter by Bishop Boothe who succeeded to the see, 1466. The first is of wood, painted and gilded; the latter is likewise of wood, but painted in imitation, and has the effect, of stone. They are both very lofty and light. Most of the churches in Somersetshire, which are remarkably elegant, are in the style of the *Florid Gothic*.

* Waynflete died 1486. How greatly tomb-architecture, within 150 years, continued to alter, appears from an expression in Berthelette's preface to his edition of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, 1554. "Gower prepared for his bones a restynge place in the monasterie of St. Marie Overee, where somewhat after the *old-fashion* he lieth right sumptuously buried." Gower died 1402.

The reason is this: Somersetshire, in the civil wars between York and Lancaster, was strongly and entirely attached to the Lancastrian party. In reward for this service, Henry VII. when he came to the crown, rebuilt their churches. The tower of Glocester cathedral, and the towers of the churches of Taunton and Glastonbury, and of a parochial church at Wells, are conspicuous examples of this fashion, Most of the churches of this reign are known, besides other distinctions, by latticed battlements, and broad open windows. In this style Henry VIII. built the palace of * Nonsuch; and Cardinal Wolsey, Hampton-court, Whitehall, Christchurch in Oxford, and the tomb-house, at Windsor.

* See a cut of its front, perhaps the only representation of it extant, in Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, 1614. fol. pag. 11. Map of Surrey. In the same is a cut of Richmond Palace, built by Henry VII.

had nothing else to do, but to spire up all they could." He adds, "they affected steeples, though the *Saracens* themselves used cupolas*." But with submission to such an authority, I cannot help being of opinion, that, though the *Saracens* themselves used cupolas, the very notion of a spire was brought from the east, where pyramidical structures were common, and spiral ornaments were the fashionable decorations of their mosques, as may be seen to this day. What the same celebrated artist immediately subjoins, that the use of glass introduced mullions into windows, is very probable. At least it contributed to multiply the ramifications; especially the use of painted glass; where the different stainings were by this means shewn to better advantage, and different stories and figures required separate compartments.

* Wren's Parentalia, p. 305.

Soon after the year 1200, they began, in England, to cover the facades, or west ends of cathedrals, with niches and rows of statues large as the life. The first example of this kind is, I think, at Salisbury; for that of Litchfield is too rich to be of equal antiquity *. The west end of Wells cathedral was perhaps intended to vie with that of Salisbury, in the same decorations; being in a bordering county, and erected after it, 1402†. It is in fine preservation, and exhibits a curious specimen of the state of statuary at that time. The west front of Exeter, adorned in this taste by Bishop Grandison, 1340, is far inferior to any of the other three. That of the abbey church at Bath, is light and ele-

* It was built at least before 1400. For the spire of St. Michael's church in Coventry, finished about 1395, is manifestly a copy of the style of its two spires. Salisbury church was begun in 1217, and finished in 1256.

† This date is on the authority of Willis, Mitr. Abb. vol. ii. 375.

gant; but is much more modern than those I have mentioned; being begun and finished but a few years before the dissolution of the abbey *.

These hasty remarks are submitted to the candour of the curious, by One, who, besides other defects which render him disqualified for such a disquisition, is but little acquainted with the terms and principles of architecture.

B. vi. c. ix. s. viii.

— — — — — Him compeld
To open unto him the prison dore,
And forth to bring those thrals that there he held;
Thence forth to him were brought about a score,
Of knights and squires, &c.
All which he did from bitter bondage free.

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* The whole church was rebuilt in the time of the two last priors, after 1500. Leland. Itin. vol. ii. The abbey was dissolved, 1534.

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Else would the waters overflow the lands,
And fire devour the air, and hell them quight.

I suppose he means, "Else the waters would overflow the lands, and fire devour the air, and hell would entirely devour both water and lands." But this is a most con-

fused construction. Unless *hell* [hele] is to cover.

B. iv. c. x. s. liii.

Scudamore, in the temple of Venus, is much in the same circumstances with Leander, in Musæus.

Tho shaking off all doubt, and shamefast feare,
Which ladies love I heard had never wonne
'Mongst men of worth, I to her stepped neare,
And by the lilly hand her labourd up to rear.
4. 10. 53.

Θαρσαλεως ὑπ' ερωΐι αναιδειην αγαπαζων *.

And afterwards,

Αυλαρ ὁ Θαρσαλεως μελεκιαθεν ελγυθι κερης,
* * * * * * * * *
Ηρεμα μεν θλιξων ροδοειδεα δακτυλα κερης.

Audacter autem ob amorem impudentiam affectans.
* * * * * * * * *

* Ver. 99. et seq.

That is, " That I might suffer what she did." These words seem an improper imitation of a passage in the New Testament, which every serious reader cannot but remember with the greatest reverence.

B. v. c. ii. s. xxvii.

The which her sire had scrapt by *hooke and crooke.*

So again,

In hopes her to attaine *by hooke or crooke.*

3. 1. 17.

The proverb of getting any thing *by hooke or by crooke* is said to have arisen in the time of Charles I. when there were two learned judges, named *Hooke* and *Crooke;* and a difficult cause was to be gotten either by *Hooke* or by *Crooke.* But here is a proof that this proverb is much older than that time; and that the form was not then invented as a proverb, but applied as a pun. It occurs in Skelton.

Leander answers,

Κυπριδος ως ιερεια μελερχεο Κυπριδω εργα·
Δευρ' ιθι, μυστιπολευε γαμηλια θεσθλα θεαινης·
Παρθενον ουκ επεοικεν υποδρησσειν Αφροδιτη,
Παρθενοις δ Κυπρις ιαινεται. — —

Veneris ut sacerdos exerce Veneris opera;
Huc ades, initiare nuptialibus legibus deæ;
Virginem non decet administrare Veneri;
Virginibus Venus non gaudet. — — —

B. iv. c. xi. s. xlvi.

Congealed little drops which do the morn adore.

Adore for *adorn.* Perhaps it is used in the same manner by Beaumont and Fletcher.

And those true tears, falling on your pure crystals,
Should turn to armlets for great Queens to adore*.

In this instance it may, however, signify *veneror*, though there is a French verb, *d'orer*, to gild, from whence it might be formed, in both the passages. Milton uses *adorn* as a participle.

Made so *adorn* for thy delight†. — —

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* Elder Brother, iv. 3. † Par. Lost. viii. 576.

Might not this participle be formed from Spenser's verb *adore?* Bishop Newton, among his many judicious criticisms on the Paradise Lost, gives a different explication. But upon the whole I am inclined to think, that Milton's ear was here imposed upon, *orn* being one of the terminations of participles: as *torn, shorn,* &c. In the same manner, from the same cause, we find in our New Testament, *lift* for lifted, "They *lift* [lifted] her up, &c." *ft* being a termination of many preter-imperfects; as *bereft, left, &c.* So also is *ost,* as *embost, lost;* whence we find inaccurately *roast* [or rost] meat, for *roasted* meat. We also find *cast* for *casted**. See whether Milton's use of the word *request,* explained above †, might not also be partly explained upon this principle.

* No such word is in use: but the preter-imperfect of verbs in *ast,* ought to be so formed, as *lasted.*

† Vol. ii. pag. 12.

With regard to *adorn*, Spenser uses it as a substantive, 3. 12. 20.

Without *adorne* of gold or silver bright.

B. iv. c. x. s. l.

And next to her sate goodly *Shamefastness*.

Shamefastness, if I remember right, is introduced as a person, in Lidgate's story of Thebes.

B. iv. c. xi. s. xxxv.

And after them the fatal Welland went,
That if old sawes prove true (which God forbid)
Shall drowne all Holland with his excrement,
And shall see Stamford, though now homely hid,
Then shine in learning, more than ever did
Cambridge or Oxford, England's goodly beames.

Holland is the maritime part of Lincolnshire, where the river Welland flows. By the *old sawes* the poet hints at a prophesy of Merlin, mentioned and explained by Twyne*.

* Antiq. Acad. Oxon. Apolog. Oxon. 4to. 1608. lib. ii. pag. 150, et seq.

Doctrinæ studium quod nunc viget ad *Vada Boum*,
Ante finem sæcli, celebrabitur ad *Vada Saxi*.

Vada Boum, i. e. Oxenford, or Oxford; *Vada Saxi*, i. e. Staneford, or Stamford.

B. iv. c. x. s. xxxiii.

And *Mole* that like a nousling mole doth make
His way. — — — —

In Colin Clout's Come Home Again, voluptuous men are compared to the nousling mole:

— — — — — Pleasures wastefull will,
In which, like moldwarps, nousling still they lurk.

B. iv. c. xii. s. xvii.

In this sad plight he walked here and there,
And romed round about the rocke in vaine,
As he had lost himself, he wist not where;
Oft listening if he mote her hear againe,
And still bemoaning his unworthy paine;
Like as an hynde, whose calfe is falne unawares
Into some pit, where she him heares complaine,
An hundred times about the pit-side fares,
Right sorrowfully mourning her beareaved cares.

This comparison has great propriety. There is one not much unlike it in Lucretius.

> At mater virides saltus orbata peragrans,
> Linquit humi pedibus vestigia pressa bisulcis,
> Omnia convisens late loca; si queat unquam
> Conspicere amissum fœtum: completque querelis
> Frondiferum nemus adsistens; et crebra revisit
> Ad stabulum, desiderio perfixa juvenci*.

The circumstance of the calf fallen into the pit, from whence the mother can only hear him complain, finely heightens this parental distress, and that of her walking round the pit so often, I think, exceeds the *crebra revisit at stabulum.* It may be observed, upon the whole, that the tenderness of Spenser's temper remarkably betrays itself on this occasion.

B. v. c. i. s. xv.

> That I mote drinke the cup whereof she dranke.

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* ii. 355.

That is, " That I might suffer what she did." These words seem an improper imitation of a passage in the New Testament, which every serious reader cannot but remember with the greatest reverence.

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The which her sire had scrapt by *hooke and crooke.*

So again,

In hopes her to attaine *by hooke or crooke.*

3. 1. 17.

The proverb of getting any thing *by hooke or by crooke* is said to have arisen in the time of Charles I. when there were two learned judges, named *Hooke* and *Crooke;* and a difficult cause was to be gotten either by *Hooke* or by *Crooke.* But here is a proof that this proverb is much older than that time; and that the form was not then invented as a proverb, but applied as a pun. It occurs in Skelton.

B. v. c. iii. s. xxv.

When the false Florimel is placed by the side of the true, the former vanishes into nothing; and as suddenly, says the poet, as all the glorious colours of the rain-bow fade and perish. With regard to the sudden evanescence in each, the comparison is just and elegant: but if we consider, that a rain-bow exists by the presence of the sun, the similitude by no means is made out. However, it is the former of these circumstances alone which the poet insists upon, so that a partial correspondence only is expected.

B. v. c. iii. s. xxxiv.

Of Brigadore,

— — — And louted low on knee.

This is related of Alexander's horse Bucephalus.

B. v. c. iv. s. xlii.

Of an eagle,

To weather his broad sayles. — —

Sails are often used by our author for *wings;* and after him by Milton. And by Fletcher,

So up he rose, upon his stretched *sailes* *.

Again, by our author,

His flaggy *wings* when forth he did display,
Were like two *sailes.* — —

1. 11. 10.

Thus Bayardo, in Ariosto, fights with a monstrous bird, whose wings are like two sails.

L' ale havea grandé che parean *due vele* †.

Her wings so huge, they seemed like a saile.

HARRINGTON.

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* Purple Island, c. xii. s. 59. † C. xxxiii. s. 84.

B. v. c. v. s. iii.

And on her shoulder hung her shield bedeckt,
Upon the bosse, with stones that shined wide,
As the faire moon in her most full aspect.

Satan's shield, in Milton, is compared to the moon*; but to the moon as discerned through a telescope,

B. v. c. v. s. xi.

— — Her sunshiny helmet soone unlaced,
Thinking, at once, both head and helmet to have raced.

xii.

But when as he discovered had her face,
He saw his senses strange astonishment, &c.

This is such a picture as Propertius gives us.

Ausa ferox ab equo quondam oppugnare sagittis
Mæotis Danaum Penthesilea rates;
Aurea cui postquam nudavit cassida frontem,
Vicit victorem candida forma virum †.

---

* Par. Lost, i. 287.

† iii. 10.

B. v. c. viii. s. xxxvii.

At last from his victorious shield he drew
The veile, &c. — — —
And coming full before his horse's vew,
As they upon him prest, it plain to them did shew.

xxxviii.

* * * * * * * * *

So did the sight thereof their sense dismay,
That backe againe upon themselves they turn'd.

The Ægis is represented with the same effect on horses, in the spirited poem of Valerius Flaccus.

Ægida tum primum virgo, spiramque Medusæ
Tercentum sævis squallentem sustulit hydris;
Quam soli vidistis *Equi*; pavor occupat ingens,
Excussis in terga viris *. — — —

B. v. c. viii. s. xliii.

Like as the cursed son of Theseus,
That — — —
Of his owne steeds was all to pieces torne.

---

* vi. 396.

Death came driving after, and all to dust pashed
Kynges and *Kaysers*, knights and popes *.

I shall here fulfil my promise of giving some account of those visions.

The author of the *Visions of Pierce Plowman* is Roberte Longelande, or Langelande, according to Bale †, and in the prefaces prefixed to the different editions. By Wood ‡, he is called Malverne, as well as Langland. It is plain that his poem, called the *Visions of Pierce Plowman,* was published after the year 1350, from the following passage §, perhaps after 1370.

* It was not unfamiliar in Ben. Jonson's time; thus, in his Tale of a Tub, act ii. sc. 2.

Tu. I charge you in the Queen's name keep the peace.

Hil. Tell me o' no *Queene* or *Kersar*.

It occurs likewise in Harrington's Ariosto, c. xliv. f. 47.

For myters, states, nor crownes may not exclude
Popes, mightie *Kyngs*, nor *Keysars* from the same.

† Script. Brit. cent. vi. 37.

‡ Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon. b. ii. p. 106.

§ Pass. 13.

holme and ivie, at the feast of Christmas. It is yet remembered in our Universities.

B. v. c. ix. s. xxiii.

> The marshall of the hall to them did come,
> His name hight *Order*. —— ——

Here Spenser paints from the manners of his own age; in which the custom of celebrating a

> — — — — — — Feast,
> Serv'd up in hall with sewrs and * seneshalls,

was not entirely dropt. One of the officers at these solemnities was styled the marshal of the hall: an office for which, Chaucer tells us, his host at the tabard was properly qualified.

* Stowe, speaking of a magnificent feast in Ely-house, at which were present King Henry VIII. and Queen Catharine, says, that "Edward Nevil was *Seneshall* or *Steward*." Survey, p. 315. ed. 1. 99.

A semely man our hoste was withal
To ben a *Marshall in a Lordis hall* *.

As the guests at these pompous and public festivals were very numerous, and of various conditions; I suppose the business of this office was to place every person according to his rank, and to preserve peace and order.

Another officer belonging to these ancient festivals, was a *lord of the misrule*, whose name is only now remembered. Stowe tells us, "In the feast of Christmas, there was in the King's house, wheresoever he lodged, a *lord of misrule*, or master of merry disports, and the like had yee in the house of every nobleman of honour, or good worship, were he spiritual or temporall†." In an original draught of the Statutes of Trinity-college,

* Prol. 753.

† Survey of London, pag. 149. edit. 1618.

Cambridge, one of the Chapters is entitled, De prefecto ludorum qui *Imperator* dicitur, under whose direction comedies and tragedies are to be represented at Christmas, in the hall; as also *sex spectacula*, or else as many dialogues. Wood, in the *Athenæ*, mentions a *Christmas Prince*, in some of the colleges at Oxford, whose office was the same*. Another title to this statute, which seems to be substituted by another hand in the place of the former, is, De comediis ludisque in natali Christi exhibendis. These statutes were drawn up in the reign of Queen Mary, 1554 †.

* *The lords of misrule*, in colleges, were preached against at Cambridge, by the Puritans, in the reign of James I. as inconsistent with a place of religious education, and as a *Pagan Relic*. Fuller's Ch. Hist. 1655. Hist. of Cambridge, pag. 159. But see the Life of John Dee, Hearne's I. Glaston. Appendix. vol. ii. pag. 502. These ceremonies were common in the inns of court. See Dugdale's Orig. Judicial. ed. 2. 1671. fol. pag. 154. 156. 247. 285.

† Fol. on vellum, MSS. Rawlins. Bib. Bodl. Oxon. See cap. 24.

With regard to the state in which our old nobility lived, it is mentioned as an instance of extraordinary pomp in Cardinal Wolsey, that he kept a full choir in his chapel*, like the king. But this was common to others, as I collect from the following passage in the statutes† of Ewelme-hospital, in Oxfordshire, given by William de la Poole, Duke of Suffolk, the founder, in the reign of Henry VI. "Provyded that all the *chyldren of our chapelle*——be taught, &c." That is, the children of the chapel in his manor house at Ewelme, who were to be taught free, with others, in the neighbouring hospital he had newly founded. The change of manners in departing from this magnificence of living, was certainly the secret cause of diminishing the power of the Barons; and perhaps more effectually contributed to this

* See Stowe's Annals, by Howes, pag. 502.

† Printed in Hearne's Chronicon. J. Whethamstede, vol. ii. p. 544.

purpose, than the laws, and other checks, professedly made against feudal jurisdiction.

B. v. c. ix. s. xxix.

Whilst *Kings* and *Kesars* at her feet did them prostrate.

Spenser frequently uses the expression *Kings and Kesars.*

— — — The captive hearts
Of *Kings* and *Kesars.* ——
4. 7. 1.

This is the state of *Kesars* and of *Kings.*
6. 3. 5.

Mighty *Kings* and *Kesars* into thraldom brought.
9. 11. 29.

Ne *Kesar* spared he awhit nor *Kings.*
6. 12. 28.

It is a very ancient form of speaking, and is found, among other poets, in the *Visions of Pierce Plowman.*

Death came driving after, and all to dust pashed
Kynges and *Kaysers*, knights and popes *.

I shall here fulfil my promise of giving some account of those visions.

The author of the *Visions of Pierce Plowman* is Roberte Longelande, or Langelande, according to Bale †, and in the prefaces prefixed to the different editions. By Wood ‡, he is called Malverne, as well as Langland. It is plain that his poem, called the *Visions of Pierce Plowman*, was published after the year 1350, from the following passage §, perhaps after 1370.

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Popes, mightie *Kyngs*, nor *Keysars* from the same.

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‡ Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon. b. ii. p. 106.

§ Pass. 13.

In date of our bryghte, in a drye Aprill
A thousand and three hundred twyse twentye and ten,
My wafers ther wer geisen, when Chichester was Mair.

So that several of Gower's and Chaucer's pieces probably made their appearance before it. It is divided into twenty parts, *Passus*, as he stiles them; and consists of many distinct visions, which have no mutual dependance upon each other; so that the poem is not a regular and uniform whole, consisting of one action or design. The author seems to have intended it as a satire on almost every occupation of life, but more particularly on the clergy; in censuring whom Wickliff had led the way not many years before. This piece abounds with humour, spirit, and imagination; all which appear to great disadvantage in uncouth versification, and obsolete language. It is evidently written without rhyme, an ornament which the poet has endeavoured to supply,

it worth recording in his History of England, that, " In the yeere 1342, John Malvern, Fellow of Oriell-college in Oxford, made and finished his book, entitled, *The Visions of Pierce Ploughman**." But it could not be written or published so early, as appears from the passage quoted in the beginning of this note. With regard to which, Bale † says, that this work was finished, 1369, when John Chichester was Mayor of London. But Hearne observes ‡, that there were two dear years, in which Chichester was Mayor of London, viz. 1350, and 1370. What may throw some further light on the time in which our author lived and wrote, is, that Oriel-college was not founded till the year 1324, or 26, of which he was a Fellow.

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* Annales, &c. by Howes, ed. 1614. pag. 238. col. 2.

† Ubi supr.

‡ MSS. note to Crowley's edit. 1550.

But this conjectural emendation of the word *sette*, which word is found in all the printed copies, was made before I had seen three manuscripts of this poem in the Bodleian library *, in all which the first verse is thus written.

In a summer season, when *softe* was the sun.

This reading also preserves the alliteration. By the way, as Mr. Lye observed to me, *bryghte*, above, should be *dryghte*, Sax. Lord, i. e. Anno Domini. Before every Vision the manner and circumstances of his falling asleep are distinctly described; before one of them, in particular, Pierce Plowman, is supposed, with equal humour and satire, to fall asleep, while he is bidding his beads. In the course of the poem, the satire is carried on by means of several allegorical personages, such as Mede, Simony, Conscience, Sloth, &c. The learned Selden †

* Mss. Laud F. 22. and Mss. Digby 102 and 108.

† Notes on Polyolb. s. xi.

mentions this author with honour. Drayton, in his Legend of Cromwell, has modernised a humourous passage from him; and by Hickes he is frequently stiled, Celeberrimus ille satyrographus, morum vindex acerrimus, &c. Leland seems to have confounded this poem with Chaucer's *Plowman's Tale.* Speaking of two editions of Chaucer, he adds, " Sed Petri Aratoris Fabula, quæ communi doctorum consensu Chaucero, tanquam vero parenti, attribuitur, in utraque editione, quia malos sacerdotum mores vehementer increpavit suppressa est*." Chaucer, indeed, in the *Plowman's Tale* seems to have copied from our author.

There is another poem, entitled, *Pierce the Plowman's Crede,* intirely different from the *Visions of Pierce Plowman,* though written in the same sort of verse and language.

* Comment. de Script. Brit. c. 55.

Hearne mentions an edition of the *Crede*, "London, R. Wolfe, 1553," 4to. in four sheets*. But I have seen this *Crede* annexed to Owen Rogers's edition of *Pierce Plowman's Visions*, 1561, Feb. 21, 4to. This edition is sometimes found without the *Crede*. Beginning of the *Crede*:

Cros and Curteis Christ this beginning spede.

It contains a curious description of the stateliness of a monastery, which the author visits†, part of which is cited above. Some other satyrical pieces on the Religious, before the reformation, bear the adopted name of *Pierce the Plowman*.

Stowe, an annotator on Chaucer, and in general accurate in these matters, has thought

* G. Neubrig. Spicil. &c. vol. iii. p. 770.
† Pag. 4.

B. v. c. x. s. xxix.

And for more horror, and more crueltie,
Under that cursed idols altar-stone,
An hideous monster doth in darkness lie,
Whose dreadfull shape was never seen of none
That lives on earth. — — —

We are apt to conceive something very wonderful of those mysterious things which are thus said to be unknown to us, and to be out of the reach and compass of man's knowledge and apprehension. Thus a cave is said to be,

A dreadfull depth, how deepe no man can tell.
5. 9. 6.

If the poet had limited the depth of this cave to a very great, but to a certain number of fathoms, the fancy could still have supposed and added more; but, as no determinate measure is assigned, our imagination is left at liberty to exert its utmost arbitrary stretch, to add fathom to fathom, and depth to depth,

till it is lost in it's own attempt to grasp the idea of that which is unbounded or infinite. Omne ignotum pro *magnifico* est, says Tacitus, somewhere; a writer of the strongest imagination.

From a *Concealment* of this kind arises the Sublime, in the following passage.

— — — There Merlin stay'd,
As overcommen of the spirits powre,
Or other ghastly spectacle dismay'd
That *secretlie* he *saw*, *yet n' ote discoure.*

This is finely heightened by the consternation of the beholders.

Which suddein fitt, and half extatick stoure
When those two fearfull women saw, they grew
Greatly confused in behaviour.

3. 3. 49.

Here is a striking instance of the force of additional figures. The whole is a fine subject for a picture.

B. v. c. x. s xxxii.

— — — — — His corse,
Which tumbling downe upon the *senseleese* ground.

It should rather be "tumbling *senselesse* downe." We have the same metathetical form again:

But as he lay upon the *humbled* grass.
6. 7. 26.

Where *humbled* should be made to agree with *he* rather than with *grass*.

B. v. c. xi. s. v.

The whilst at him so dreadfully did drive
That seem'd a marble rocke asunder could have rive.

Spenser, although guilty in too many places of the ellipsis, undoubtedly wrote,

The whilst at him so dreadfully *he* did drive.

The *y* in *dreadfully* being slurred, or cut off. So,

Saint George of merry' England the signe of victory.
1. 10. 61.

There are many other instances of the cesura of this letter, in our author, as likewise in Milton. In the following verse *e* in *idle* is sunk.

> What *idl'* errand hast thou earth's mansions to forsake?
>
> 6. 6. 25.

In this verse,

> That seem'd a marble rock asunder could have *rive*,

there is an ellipsis of *it* before *seem'd*, and of *he* before *could*; and *rive* should have been *riv'd*, unless he wrote it *rive* for *riven*. As thus:

> That stony hart could *riven* have in twaine.
>
> 1. 3. 44.

B. iv. s. iv. Introd.

> — — To please the eye of them that pass
> Which see not perfect things, but in a glass.

But these exclamations are somewhat similar to those which Æneas, in the same book, utters over Pallas.

Hi nostri reditus, expectatique triumphi,
Hæc mea magna fides, &c *.

B. vi. c. iii. s. xxviii.

—— —— With carefull hands
Did her sustaine, softing foot her beside.

Softing-foot is a typographical blunder, which, I think, runs through all the old editions, for *soft-footing;* William Ponsonby's edition in quarto, 1596, not excepted.

B. vi. c. vi. s. iv.

For whylome he had been a doughty knight.

That is the hermit had been, &c. Many of the hermits in romance are represented to have been very valorous knights in their

* Ibid. xi. 54.

a leaf torn out. It is there entitled, *In Imitation of old Rhyme.* At the end is this note. "This was found pasted on the inside of the cover of a great bible, in the Earl of Shrewsbury's study, some years since. But it is likewise printed in P. Enderbie's [Enderbury's] British and Welch Antiquities; though not well."

B. vi. c. ii. s. iv.

— — — — — Ah sorry boy
Is this the hope that to my hoary heare
Thou bringst? aye me is this the timely joy
Which I expected long? now turn'd to sad annoy!

Aladine is brought home dead upon a bier to his father Aldus, who bursts out into these exclamations over his son's body: in like manner Evander mourns over his son Pallas;

—— —— Feretro Pallanta repostum *.

* Æn. xi. 149.

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* Ibid. xi. 54.

youth. Hence it is that Don Quixote is introduced gravely debating with Sancho, whether he shall turn saint or archbishop.

B. vi. c. vi. s. xxx.

The tempred steele did not into his braine-pan bite.

Brain-pan was a common phrase for *head.* Thus Skelton;

With a whim wham,
Knit with a trim tram,
Upon her *brayne-panne,*
Like an egypian *.

And in the bible of Henry VIII. "And a certain woman cast a piece of milstone on Abimeleck, and all to brake his *brayne-panne* †."

B. vi. c. vii. s. i.

— — — A vile dunghill mind.

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* E. Ruming. pag. 125. edit. 1736.

† Judges, ix. 53.

So,

The dearest to his dunghill mind.

3. 10. 15.

So in *an Hymne of Love;*

His dunghill thoughts which do themselves enure
To durtie drosse. — — —

And in *Tears of the Muses;*

Ne ever dare their dunghill thoughts aspire.

And Chaucer,

Now fie churle (quoth the gentle Tercelet)
Out of the dung-hill came that word aright *.

B. vi. c. vii. s. xlvii.

— — — The whiles the carle did fret,
And fume in his disdainfull mind the more,
And oftentimes by Termagant and Mahound swore.

These Saracen oaths are likewise to be met with in Tasso and Ariosto. Hall, per-

* Ass. F.

haps, points out our author in the following verses.

> Nor fright the reader with the Pagan vaunt
> Of mightie Mahound, and great Termagaunt *.

But Hall, perhaps, would have met with greater regard from his readers, had he not relinquished or ridiculed the species of writing, however fantastic and extravagant, with which he found his age infected. I suppose Hall's Satires acquired as little success and applause, in the age of Queen Elizabeth, as a poem written with the manners of the *Faerie Queene* would gain in our own.

Mahound, or *Mahomet*, seems to have been anciently a character on our stage, when nothing was fashionable but the legendary stories of the Saracens. Thus Skelton;

* Satires, b. i. s. 1.

Like *Mahound* in a play,
No man dare him withsaye *.

Thus also Stowe. " And in a stage-plaie the people know right well, that he which playeth the *sowdaine*, &c †." The souldan of Syria being another Saracen character, usual on our stage.

B. vi. c. vii. s. xlvii.

— — — — — Candle-light which dealt
A doubtfull sense of things, not so well seen as felt.

After this manner Milton,

And through the *palpable obscure* find out
His uncouth way ‡. — — — —

But the phrase is founded on the following expression of scripture: " And the Lord said unto Moses, stretch out thine hand toward Heaven, that there may be darkness

* Pag. 158. edit. 1736. † Annals. 459.
‡ Par. Lost, b. ii. v. 406.

over the land of Egypt, even *darkness* which may be *felt.*" It is rendered by the septuagint, Ψηλαφητὸν σκότος*. The like expression occurs in Hobbes: "To this *palpable darknesse* I might add, the ambiguous obscurity of expression more than is perfectly conceived †."

B. vi. c. viii. s. xxi.

All sitting carelesse on the *scorner's stoole.*

We meet with something like this in our old metrical version of the first psalm.

Nor sate in *scorner's chair.*

B. vi. c. x. s. vi.

And in their tops the soaring hawke did towre,
Sitting like king of fowles in majestie and powre.

This is said in honour of hawking, which,

* C. x. v. 21.

† Answer to Gondibert's Pref. an. 1650. pag. 137.

as I before hinted, was a very fashionable and courtly diversion in Spenser's time. And for the same reason, and somewhat after the same manner, he particularises the falcon, in the speech of the genius of Verulam.

> Where my high steeples whilome used to stand,
> On which the lordly falcon wont to towre.
>
> B. xi. c. xii. s. xvii.

> A little maid, the which ye *childed* tho.

Childing is used in Chaucer for *conceiving*, viz.

> Unknowing hym, *chylding* by miracle *.

Junius observes, that in Wicliff's bible we frequently find, "And Eve *childed*, &c." In Shakespeare *childed* is used for *begot*.

> *Ed.* When that which makes me bend, makes the king bow;
> He *childed*, as I father'd †. — —

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* Ball. Lady, v. 133. † King Lear, act iii. s. 5.

In Lydgate it is to *bring forth*, as before us.

And in this while, with her eyen meke
She *chylded* hath *. — —

B. vi. c. xxiii. &c.

His description of the *Blatant Beast*, under which is shadowed *Scandal* or *Calumny*, attacking all ranks of life, and making havock in cities, courts, monasteries, and cottages, is exactly similar to this passage in the *Lingua* of Erasmus: "Circumferat quisque oculos suos, per domos privatas, per collegia, per monasteria, per aulas principum, per civitates, per regna; et compendio discet, quantum ubique pestem ingerat *Lingua calumniatrix* †."

* *Lyfe* of our Lady. R. Redman, 1531. 4to. chap. 97. The title of which is most extraordinary; "*How Joseph went to fetch a mydwyfe to our Lady.*"

† Basiliæ, apud Froben. 1526. pag. 220.

B. vii. c. vii. s. x.

That richer seems than any *tapestry*,
That princes bowres adorne with painted imagery.

In the age of the poet, tapestry was the most fashionable furniture of halls and state-rooms; as it was when Milton wrote his Comus, who mentions tapestry as a circumstance of grandeur.

Courtesie,
Which oft is sooner found in lowly sheds,
With smoaky rafters, than in *tap'stry halls*
And courts of princes.

As the general fashion of furnishing halls, and grand apartments, is at present entirely different from this, the reader passes over the expression, *Tapestry-halls*, without feeling any striking idea of the thing conveyed to him, because the object from whence it is drawn does not at present commonly exist; and we may observe, from this passage, how

much of their force and propriety both expressions and descriptions must necessarily lose, when the objects, or customs, or manners, to which they allude, are disused and forgotten. There is another reference to tapestry in Milton, which is not immediately felt and understood by a modern reader:

> Auditurque chelys *suspensa tapetia* circum,
> Virgineos tremulâ quæ regat arte pedes *.

In Hentznerus †, may be seen some curious descriptions of rich tapestry in Queen Elizabeth's palaces. Bacon, describing a cabinet, or closet, at the end of a gallery, which is to be furnished and finished in the most delicate taste, directs, that it be "daintily paved‡, *richly hanged*, glazed with crystal-

* B. i. El. 6.

† Itinerarium 1568. ut supra.

‡ In this article they were extremely curious. In a description of the royal palace at Woodstock, written 1622, it is said, "The presence and *privie chamber* of this palace are *paved* with *alabaster*." History of Allchester, added to Kennet's Paroch. Antiq. pag. 694.

line glasse, a rich cupola in the midst, and all other elegancie that may be thought upon*." Harrison, who wrote a Description of England about the middle of Queen Elizabeth's reign, observes; "Certes in noblemens houses it is not rare to see abundance of *arras*, rich hangings of *tapestrie*, &c.—Likewise in the houses of knights, gentlemen, &c. it is not geson to behold generallie this *great provision* of *tapestrie*†." Before the use of tapestry became very common, they painted the walls of their rooms. Chaucer tells us, that the room in which he slept, in his *Dreme*, was painted with the history of the *Romaunt of the Rose*‡,

* Of Building. Essay xlv.

† Prefixed to Hollinshed's Chron. p. 188.

‡ Dreame of Chaucer, v. 322. ed. Urry, p. 406. or Speght fol. 228. verso. col. 2. There are other instances in Chaucer. By the way, *portraying* is mentioned as an accomplishment in the character of Chaucer's Squire.

He could songs make, and eke well endite,
Iiust, and eke daunce, *portray*, and well write.
Cant. T. Prol. ed. Speght. sign. A ii.

And soothe to saine my chamber was
Full well depaintid. ———

* * * * * * * *

And all the walls with colours fine
Were paint, both text and glose,
And [with] all *the Romaunt of the Rose.*

The interior walls of the churches were also frequently painted. Thus the author of *Pierce Plowman's Crede,* describing a church;

—— —— Walles well heye,
That mote bene portraid, and paint, and pulched full clene.

Again,

The pilers weren ypaint, and pulched full clene.

Though this last instance may mean plain colouring, as was the fashion. The cloysters of monasteries were often decorated with paintings. Thus the same author.

Than cam I to the cloyster, and gaped abouten,
Wough it was pilered and peint, and portreyed full clene *.

* Edit. Owen Rogers, 4to. 1561, siga. A. iii.

The Dance of Death, painted in the cloysters of St. Paul's, about 1440, I have mentioned above. Hearne imagines, that the cloysters of the nunnery at Godstowe were curiously painted*. The roofs of the churches were often painted with fantastic decorations, those I mean that were flat and not vaulted, as at St. Alban's, and Peterborough. A common ornament of the roofs of state-rooms was a blue ground, sprinkled with golden stars. Queen Elizabeth's chamber, in the palace at Woodstock, had such a roof†. *The cieling* of the Bodleian library, and picture gallery at Oxford, are curious remains of this style. ——*Taste* and imagination make more *antiquaries* than the world is willing to allow.

* *Gul.* Neubrig. vol. iii. p. 773. This was written before I had seen Mr. Walpole's valuable and entertaining Anecdotes of Ancient Painting.

† It remained almost complete, about fifty years since. It was destroyed with the magnificent ruins of the old royal manor, when Blenheim-palace was built.

One looks back with a romantic pleasure on the arts and fashions of an age, which,

Employ'd the power of fairy hands *.

B. vii. c. 7. s. xxxv.

Like that ungracious crew which faines demurest grace.

He seems here to have intended a satirical stroke against the puritans, who were a prevailing party in the age of Queen Elizabeth; and, indeed, our author, from his profession, had some reason to declare himself their enemy, as poetry was what they particularly stigmatised, and bitterly inveighed against. In the year 1579, one Stephen Gosson wrote a pamphlet, with this title, " *The School of Abuse*, containing a pleasaunt invective against poets, pipers, plaiers, jesters, and

* Gray.

such-like caterpillers of a commonwealth *." This was soon followed by many others of the same kind.

But the most ridiculous treatise of this sort was one written many years afterwards by W. Prynne; as a specimen of which, I shall beg leave to entertain the reader with its title-page. "*Histriomastix, the Players Scourge,* or *Actors Tragedie,* divided into two parts: wherein it is largely evidenced by divers arguments, by the concurring authorities, and resolutions of sundry texts of Scripture; of the whole primitive church, both under the law and gospel; of fifty-five synods and councils, of seventy-one fathers, and Christian writers, before the year of our Lord 1200; of above one hundred and fifty fo-

* I think, in one of the absurd books of this kind, there is a chapter "Of the *Vanity* of wearing *cork-heeled* shoes."

raigne and domestic Protestant and Popish authors since; of forty Heathen philosophers, historians, poets; of many Heathen, many Christian nations, republicks, emperors, princes, magistrates; of sundry apostolical, canonical, imperial constitutions, and of our own English statutes, magistrates, universities, writers, preachers.——That popular stage-playes (the very pompes of the devil, which we renounce in baptisme, if we believe the fathers) are sinfull, heathenish, lewd, ungodly, spectacles, and most pernicious corruptions; condemned in all ages as intolerable mischiefes, to churches, to republicks, the manners, mindes and soules of men: and that the profession of play-poets, of stage-players, together with penning, acting, and frequenting of stage-playes, are unlawfull, infamous, and misbeseeming Christians: all pretences to the contrary are here likewise fully answered; and the unlawfullness of acting, of beholding academical en-

terludes, briefly discussed; besides sundry other particulars concerning dancing, dicing, health-drinking, &c." London, 1633.

This extravagant and absurd spirit of puritanical enthusiasm, proved at last, in its effects, as pernicious to polite learning, and the fine arts, as to the liberties and constitution of our country: while every species of elegance was represented, by these austere and melancholy zealots, as damnable luxury, and every degree of decent adoration, as Popish idolatry*. In short, it is not suffi-

* Oliver Cromwell, however, was fond of music; and, what may seem surprising, was particularly fond of the music of an organ. as appears from the following remarkable anecdote. In the grand Rebellion, when the organ at Magdalen-college in Oxford, among others, was taken down, Cromwell ordered it to be carefully conveyed to Hampton-court, where it was placed in the great gallery; and one of Cromwell's favourite amusements was to be entertained with this instrument, at leisure hours. It continued there till the Reformation, when it was re-

ciently considered, what a rapid and national progress we were, at that time, making in knowledge, and how sudden a stop was put to it, by the inundation of presbyterianism and ignorance; which circumstance alone, exclusive of its other attendant evils, gives us ample cause to detest the promoters of that malignant rebellion, which no good man can remember without horror.

It may not, perhaps, be impertinent to remark here, that Milton, who was strongly inclined to puritanism, had good reason to think, that the publication of his *Samson Agonistes* would be highly offensive to his precise brethren, who held poetry, and particularly that of the dramatic kind, in such

turned to its original owners, and was the same that remained in the choir of that college till within these last twenty years.

deep abhorrence. And, upon this account, it is probable, that in order to excuse himself for having engaged in this proscribed and forbidden species of writing, he thought it expedient to prefix to his play a formal *Defence of Tragedy**, in which he endeavours to prove, that some of the gravest writers did not scruple to illustrate their discourses from the works of tragic poets, and that many of the wisest philosophers, and of the primitive fathers, were not ashamed to write *Tragedies*.

The subsequent remarks are thrown together without order, which the reader is desired to look upon as a *Supplement* to this concluding *Section*.

* The popular clamours of puritanism, in like manner, seem to have extorted from Sydney, his rational and noble *Defence of Poesie*.

B. i. c. vi. s. xv.

Farre off he wonders what them makes so glad,
Of Bacchus merry fruits they did *invent*,
Or Cybel's frantic rights have made them mad.

Hughes reads, "*if* Bacchus, &c." but even then there is an obscurity. The meaning of the passage is this: "He wonders what makes them so glad; he doubts with himself, whether or no their mirth was not occasioned by wine which they had discovered, or whether or no they might not be driven to madness by Cybele's rites." *Invent* is here one of Spenser's Latinisms for *discover;* as it is also in this verse;

Ay me, that ever guile in women was *invented*.
5. 11. 50.

That is, *found out*.

B. v. c. ix. s. xiii.

Like as the fowler on his guilefull pipe,
Charmes to the birds full many a pleasant lay.

Charm is thus used again, as Dr. Jortin observes, in *Colin Clout's Come Home Again.*

The shepherd's boy — — — —
Sate as his custom was — — —
Charming his oaten pipe unto his peres.

It seems to be used somewhat in the same sense, st. 39. below.

That well could *charme* his tongue, and time his speech,

Again,

Here we our slender pipes may safely *charme* *.

In the *Epithalamium,* for *tempting by enchantment.*

Her lips like cherries *charming* men to bite.

B. v. c. vii. s. xxxiv.

The wicked shaft guided through th' *ayrie wide.*

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* October.

Ayrie wide seems to be used for *ayrie void,*

B. vii. c. viii. s. ii. seq.

Next Mereurie. — — — —

Our old poets take all opportunities of displaying their skill in astronomy. It was the favourite study of the dark ages, which have left us a very great number of manuscript systems, in various branches of this science. In the statutes of a certain college, at Cambridge, founded in the reign of Henry VI. some of the fellows are directed, "intendere studio *astronomiæ.*" In the magnificent reign of Henry VII. it was not deemed strange to exhibit an entertainment before the court, formed on this abstruse science, in honour of the marriage of Prince Arthur, and the Princess Katharine. "In all the devises and conceits of the triumphs of this marriage, there was a great deal of

That doth ill cause or evill end *enure*.

B. iii. c. ii. s. xlvi.

Without respect of person or of *port*.

Port, is *carriage*, *aspect*, Fr. *port*. It is so used by Chaucer; and by Harrison, speaking of the Lord Mayor of London. "Of a subject there is no public officer, of anie citie in Europe, that may compare in *port* and *countenance* with him, *during the time of his office* *.

B. iii. c. iii. s. iv.

My glorious soveraigne's goodlie auncestric.

Milton, in his History of England, seems to have used Spenser's Chronicle of the British Kings, as a kind of clue, to direct him through so dark and perplexed a subject.

* Description of England, ut supr. pag. 168.

— — Fresh againe *enured*
His former crueltie.

Ure for *use* was formerly common. Hence it has been proposed to read, in Milton's *Comus, ure* for *cure.*

Drops that from my fountaine pure
I have kept of precious *ure*.

Thus in Brown's *Britannia's Pastorals**.

The staires of rugged stone seldom in *ure* †.

In Sackville's *Gordobuck.*

This tempred youth, with aged father's awe,
Be brought in *ure* of skilfull stayedness ‡.

In the Act of Uniformity, Prim. Eliz. prefixed to the Liturgy; "*Use* the said service, and put the same in *ure.*" In later Common-prayer books it is printed *use. Enure* is used with greater latitude; 4. 2. 29.

* B. i. s. 5. † Also, b. i. s. 5.
‡ A. i. s. 2.

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* Description of England, ut supr. pag. 168.

He plainly copies our author's order and disposition, whom he quotes; and almost transcribes from him in the story of Lear, as much, however, as the difference between prose and verse will permit. Milton was very fond of the old British history, in which his imagination discovered many fine subjects for poetry. Milton's History is an admirable comment on this part of our author; which is manifestly taken from the former part of John Hardyng's Chronicle.

B. ii. c. x. s. liii.

— — The holie grayle. — — —

I forgot to remark before *, that in the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford, there is a very curious and beautiful manuscript, of the History of Arthur and his Knights, and their Achievement of the *Sangreal* †. It is

* Vol. i. pag. 49. † Codd. Ashmol. fol. 828.

in folio, on vellum; the initials are illuminated, and the chapters are adorned with head-pieces, expressing the story, painted and illuminated; in which we see the fashion of ancient armour, building, manner of tilting, and other particulars. These are the only illuminations of the kind I have seen. They are something like the wood-cuts to an old edition of Ariosto, 1540*. Other ornaments are introduced in the margin, and at the foot of the pages. This manuscript, I presume, is of considerable antiquity. In the Bodleian library are two other manuscripts, in French, of the History of Arthur and his Conquest of the *Sangreal*†.

With regard to what I have said above, concerning the word *Grayle* in Skelton‡, I

* In Vinegia. quarto.

† Vid. Cod. Ken. Digb. 1284, 223. And Hyper. Bodl. [ex Hattonianis] 4092, 67.

‡ Vol. i. pag. 49.

find I am mistaken; *Grayle* there signifying *Graduale*, or the *Responsorium*, or *Antiphonarium*, in the Romish service. The French word is *Greel*, which Dufresne * interprets, "*Livre a chanter le messe.*" Thus, in some monastic inventories taken at the reformation, we find *Grayles* enumerated, i. e. service-books. Skelton, cited above, says;

> The peacocke so proud,
> Because his voice is loud,
> He shall sing the *grayle*.

i. e. He shall sing that part of the service which is called the *Grayle*, or *graduale*. Among the furniture given to the chapel of Trinity-college, Oxford, by the founder, mention is made of four *Grayles of Parchment* lyned with gold †.

* "Quia in *gradibus* canitur." Dufr. in Voc. He mentions a Will of Charles Earl of Valois, 1320, in which he bequeathes, "un missel et un *greel*."

† Indent. dat. Maii 5, 1556. Regist. I. Coll. Trin. Oxon.

B. iii. c. x. s. viii.

Brawles, ballads, virclayes, and verses vain.

The study of the Italian poets, in the age of Queen Elizabeth, introduced a great variety of measures; particularly in the lyrical pieces of that time, in their canzonets, madrigals, devises, sonnets, and epithalamiums. But nothing could be more absurd than their imitations of the Roman measures; an attempt begun and patronised by Sir Philip Sydney, and Sir Edward Dyer. In an old miscellaneous collection of poems, by Sydney, Dyer, Davis, Greville, Campion, and others, printed 1621, and entitled *Davison's Poems*, or a *Poetical Rhapsodie**, there is an iambic Elegy by Spenser, never printed in his works, which I shall restore to the public. This little piece may justly be deemed a curiosity on more accounts than one.

* It is the fourth impression. Lond. for R. Jackson. 12mo. pag. 203.

LOUES EMBASIE,

IN AN

IAMBICKE ELEGIE.

Vnhappy verse! the witnesse of vnhappy state,
Make thy self fluttring wings of thy fast flying thoght
And flye forth vnto my loue wheresoeuer she be.

Whether lying restlesse in heauy bed, or else
Sitting so cheerelesse at the cheerefull boord, or else
Playing alone carelesse on her heavenly virginals.

If in bed, tell her that mine eyes can take no rest:
If at boord, tell her that my mouth can taste no food,
If at her virginals, tell her I can heare no mirth.

Asked why, say waking loue suffereth no sleepe;
Say that raging loue doth appall the weake stomacke:
Say that lamenting loue marreth the musicall.

Tell her, that her pleasures were wont to lull me asleepe,
Tell her, that her beauty was wont to feed mine eyes:
Tell her, that her sweet tong was wont to make me mirth.

Now do I nightly waste, wanting my kindly rest:
Now do I daily starue, wanting my liuely food:
Now do I alwayes die, wanting my timely mirth.

And if I waste, who will bewaile my heauy chance?
And if I starue, who will record my cursed end?
And if I die, who will say, this was Immerito?

EDMUND SPENSER.

To this I add another piece, equally curious and unknown, by the same author; which Mr. Johnson discovered, among other recommendatory verses, prefixed to an old translation of Contareni's description of Venice, by one Lewkenor,

The antique Babel, empresse of the East,
Upreard her buildinges to the threatned skies;
And second Babell, tyrant of the West,
Her ayry towers upraised much more high;
But, with the weight of their own surquedry,
They both are fallen, that all the earth did feare,
And buried now in their own ashes ly,
Yet shewing by their heapes how great they weare;
But in their place doth now a third appeare,
Fayre Venice, flower of the last worlds delight,
And next to them in beauty, draweth neare,
But far exceeds in policie of right;
Yet not so fayre her buildings to behold,
As Lewkenors stile, that hath her beautie told.

EDM. SPENSER.

B. vi. c. vii. s. xxiii.

At length into a monastere, did light,
Where he him found despoyling all with maine and might.

Those who complain of the outrages committed at the dissolution of monasteries, seldom observe, that literature suffered an irreparable loss, in the dispersion and destruction of books, which followed that important event. Bale*, a notorious and professed reformer, laments the injury sustained in this article. Many most valuable pieces, both printed and manuscript, were either instantly destroyed, or consigned to the most mean and sordid uses. Wood tells us†, that two famous libraries were purchased at the price of forty shillings, by a common shopkeeper at Oxford, for the purpose of waste paper Some of the books were sold to merchant

* In Proem, ad lib. cui tit. *Iter Laboriosum*, &c. Lond. 1549.

† Hist. et Antiq. Un. Oxon. pag. 272. l. 1.

who carried them abroad*. The spirit of purging the libraries from what they called Popery, prevailed so far, that the reforming visitors of the University of Oxford, in the reign of Edward VI. left only a manuscript of Valerius Maximus†, in the public library‡. The greatest part of the rest of the books they burned in the market-place, or sold to the lowest artificers§. Rubrics, mathematical figures, and astronomical demonstrations, were judged to be the genuine characteristics of Popish delusion and imposture. For this reason, they took from the library of Merton-college more than a cart-load of manuscripts‖. The monks at least protected and preserved, if they did

* Hist. et Antiq. Un. Oxon. pag. 272. l. i.

† I wonder their consciences permitted it to remain, as its initials and margins are finely illuminated and ornamented. It is on vellum, in folio.

‡ Wood, ut sup. lib. ii. pag. 50.

§ Ibid.

‖ Wood, ut sup. i. 271.

not propagate and practise, literature. We are told, that there were no less than a thousand and seven hundred manuscripts in the abbey of Peterborough *.

B. ii. c. x. s. lxvii.

So now entombed lies at Stonehenge by the heath.

This is Aurelius, who was poisoned by a Saxon. " King Edgar,—and King Athelstane,—are said by approved authors to be buried in some of the Wiltshire hills.—They buried their princes, and peers, and nobles, in hills; making some monuments of earth, or stones heaped up †."—Constans is supposed to be buried in the mountains of North Wales ‡.

* Gunton's Peterborough, pag. 173. See Tanner's Notit. Monast. fol. præf. pag. 41.

† History of Allchester, ut supr. pag. 690.

‡ Ibid. 703.

B. v. c. iii. s. iii.

To tell the glory of the feast that day,
The goodlie service, the deviseful sights.

At Florimel's wedding. By *devisefull sights*, Spenser means *sights full of devices*, that is, masques, triumphs, and other spectacles, usually exhibited in his time, with great cost and splendor, at the nuptials of noble personages. Hence Milton, in *L'Allegro*, selects that species of "masque and antique pageantry," which was celebrated at weddings. On these occasions there was constantly an epithalamium; which is the reason that the author of the *Arte of English Poesie*, separately considers the *epithalamium* as a species of poetry, and accordingly delivers rules for its composition.

B. vii. c. vi. s. lv.

Speaking of Diana's departure from Ireland.

— — — — Parting from the place
Thereon a heavy haplesse curse did lay,
To weet, that wolves, where she was wont to *space*
Should harbour'd be, and all those woods deface,
And thieves should rob, and spoil that coast around;
Since which those woods, and all that goodly chase,
Doth to this day with wolves and thieves abound.

In *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*, where he is praising England, he does it by an enumeration of some of the miseries of Ireland.

No wayling there, nor wretchednesse is heard,
No bloodie issues, nor no leprosies;
No griesly famine, nor no raging sweard:
No nightly bordrags, nor no hues and cries,
The shepherds there abroad may safely lie
On hills and downes, withouten dread or danger:
Nor ravenous wolves the good mans hope destroy,
Nor outlawes fell affray the forrest ranger.

Spenser, speaking of the massacres committed upon the people of Munster, in Ireland, after the rebellion, paints in the strongest colours, though in prose. "Out of every corner of the woodes and glennes

they came creeping forth upon their handes, for their legges could not bear them: they looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghostes crying out of their graves; they eat the dead carrions, happy were they could they find them, yea, and one another soon after; insomuch, as the very carcases they spared not to scrape out of their graves. And if they found a plot of water-cresses, or shamrockes, there they flocked, as to a feast, for the time; yet not able long to continue there withall, &c*." Spenser himself died in Ireland, in the most wretched condition, amid the desolations of this rebellion; as appears from the following curious anecdote in Drummond, who has left us the heads of a conversation between himself and B. Jonson.——"Ben Jonson told me that Spenser's goods were robbed by the Irish in Desmond's

* Spenser's View of the *State* of Ireland, p. 154. vol. vi. works, 12mo. 1750.

at present. The elder poets took greater liberties in this point, so that sometimes it is difficult to determine whether *him* is used for *se* or *illum*. Of this the verse before us is an instance. Thus again,

> Scudamore coming to *Care*'s house
> Doth sleep from *him* expell.
>
> 4. 5. Ans.

That is, " expells sleep from *himself*." Thus in Raleigh's elegant *Vision upon the conceipt of the Faerie Queen.*

> At whose approache the soule of Petrarcke wept,
> And from thenceforth those graces were not seen,
> For they this queene attended; in whose stead
> *Oblivion* laid *him* down on Laura's herse.

We are apt, at first, to refer *him down*, &c. to Petrarcke, " *Oblivion laid Petrarcke down;*" while the meaning is, " *Oblivion laid himself downe.*"

adds, that he was buried in the abbey of Westminster, with due solemnities, at the expence of the Earl of Essex. If Drummond's account be true, it is most probable, that the Earl, whose benefaction came too late to be of any use, ordered his body to be conveyed into England, where it was interred as Camden relates. It must be owned that Jonson's account, in Drummond, is very circumstantial; and that it is probable, Jonson was curious enough to collect authentic information on so interesting a subject. At least his profession and connexions better qualified him to come at the truth. Perhaps he was one of the poets who held up Spenser's pall*.

B. vi. c. vi. s. xx.

To whom the prince, *him* faining to embase.

Him for *himself* is the language of poetry

* Poetis funus ducentibus. Camden ubi supr.

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> Scudamore coming to *Care*'s house
> Doth sleep from *him* expell.
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The initial line of this sonnet seems to have been thought of by Milton, viz.

Methought I sawe the grave where Laura lay.

Thus Milton on his *Deceased Wife* *.

Methought I saw my late-espoused saint.

And he probably took the hint of writing a visionary sonnet on that occasion, from this of Raleigh.

There is a particular beauty in the allegorical turn of this little composition in praise of the *Faerie Queene,* as it imitates the manner of the author whom it compliments.

B. vi. c. iv. s. xix.

Her target alwaies over her *pretended.*

---

* Sonn. xxiii.

Pretended, " stretched or held over her," This Latinism is to be found in Milton, but in a sense somewhat different.

— — Lest that too heavenly form *pretended*
To hellish falshood, snare them*. — —

B. iii. c. ii. s. xxxii.

The time that mortall men their weary cares
Do lay away, and all wilde beasts do rest,
And every river eke his course forbeares,
Then doth this wicked evill thee infest.

These verses, which, at first sight, seem to be drawn from Dido's† night in the fourth Æneid, are translated from the *Ceiris* attributed to Virgil, as it has been before in general hinted, Sect. 3.

Tempore quo fessas mortalia pectora curas,
Quo rapidos etiam requiescunt flumina cursus†.

* Par. Lost. x. 872. † Ver. 232.

B. iv. c. vi. s. xliv.

With that the wicked Carle, the master smith,
A paire of red-hot iron tongs did take,
Out of the burning cinders, and therewith
Under the side him nipt. — — —.

In these verses the allegory is worked up to an amazing height. What he says of Erinnys, in the *Ruins* of *Rome*, is somewhat in this strain,

What fell Erinnys with hot-burning tongs,
Did gripe your hearts? —— ——

St. 24.

From the same stanza Milton probably drew the expression *Blind Fury*, in *Lycidas*; as it was not taken from the authority of ancient mythology.

Comes the *Blind Fury*, with th' abhorred shears,
And slits the thin-spun life. —— ——

Spenser,

If the *blind* furie, which warres breedeth oft,
Wonts not, &c. — — — —

So Sackville, in *Gordobucke.*

O Jove, how are these peoples hearts abus'd;
And what blind fury headlong carries them *.

B. v. c. vii. s. xxi.

Magnificke virgin, that in *queint disguise*
Of British armes. — — —

That is, "in *strange* disguise." In this sense the word *queint* is used in *Comus.*

—— —— —— Lest the place,
And this *queint* habit breed astonishment.

Somewhat in this signification it is likewise applied by the shepherd Cuddy, in our author's *October.*

With *queint* Bellona. —— ——

Where E. K. in explaining it, has discovered more learning than penetration.

Skinner seems to have wrongly interpreted

* Act. v. 3.

quaint, elegans. If it ever signifies *elegant* or *beautifull*, it implies a fantastic kind of beauty arising from an odd variety. Thus Milton, in *Lycidas*, of flowers.

> Throw hither all your *queint* enamel'd eyes.

And in *Arcades;* where it expresses an elegance resulting from affectation rather than nature.

> —— —— And *curl* the grove
> In ringlets *queint*. —— ——

Where Milton copies Jonson, in a *Maske* at *Welbeck*, 1633.

> When was old Sherwood's head more *queintly curld* * ?

The same poet has likewise drawn one or two more strokes in the *Arcades*, from a

* Ver. 15.

Masque of Jonson. In song 1. he thus breaks forth,

> This, this is she, — — — —
> To whom our vows, and wishes, &c.

So Jonson, in *An Entertainment at Althrope, 1603.*

> This is shee,
> This is shee.

Milton in *Song* 3, pays this compliment to the Countess of Derby,

> Though Syrinx your Pan's mistress were,
> Yet Syrinx well might wait on her.

Thus Jonson, in the same *Entertainment,*

> And the dame has Syrinx' grace.

These little traits of likeness just lead us to conclude, that Milton, before he began to write his *Arcades*, had recourse to Jonson, who was the most eminent masque-

writer then extant, for the manner proper to this species of composition; or that in the course of writing it, he imperceptibly fell upon some of Jonson's expressions.

It was happily reserved for the taste and genius of Milton, to temper the fantastic extravagance of the *Masque*, which chiefly consisted in external decoration, with the rational graces of poetry, and to give it the form and substance of a legitimate drama.

B. vi. c. ix. s. xxix.

In vaine, said then old Melibee, doe men
The heavens of their fortunes fault accuse,
Sith they know best, what is the best for them;
For they to each such fortune doe diffuse,
As they do know each can most aptly use.
For not that which men covèt most is best,
Nor that thing worst which men do most refuse:
But fittest is, that all contented rest
With that they hold: each has his fortune in his breast.

xxx.

It is the mind that maketh good or ill.

In these lines he plainly seems to have had his eye on those exalted Socratic sentiments, which Juvenal has given us in the close of his tenth satire. The last-cited lines, in particular, point out to us the sense in which Spenser understood the two final controverted verses of that satire.

> Nullum numen [abest] habes, si sit prudentia; sed *te*
> *Nos facimus fortuna deam*, cæloque locamus.

B. iv. c. viii. s. xxxvii.

> With easy steps so soft as foot could *stride*.

Probably we should read *slide* for *stride*; though *stride* occurs in the old quarto.

B. v. c. i. s. viii.

> When so he list in wrath uplift his steely brand.

Concerning the word *brand*, frequently used by Spenser, for *sword*, take the following explication of Hickes. "In the second

It is likely that Milton never heard this improbable circumstance, of mistaking the whale for an island, from the sea-men; but that he drew it from that passage in his favourite Ariosto, where Astolpho, Dudon, and Renaldo are said to have seen so large a whale in the sea, near Alcyna's castle, that they took it for an island*.

B. iv. c. vi. s. xiv.

Like as the lightning brond from riven skie,
Thrown out by angry Jove in his vengeance,
With dreadfull force falles on some steeple hie,
Which battring, downe it on the church doth glaunce,
And teareth all with terrible mischaunce.

Not many years before the *Fairy Queen* was written, viz. 1561, the steeple of St. Paul's church was struck with lightning, by which means not only the steeple itself, but

* C. vi. s. 37.

— — — — Thus were they plagu'd,
And worn with famine, long and ceaseless hiss,
Till their lost shape, permitted, they resum'd;
Yearly injoyn'd, they say, to undergo
This *annual humbling* certain number'd days *.

Before I close this Supplement, I will hope for the reader's pardon once more, while I lengthen out this digression, in order to illustrate another passage in Milton.

Leviathan, — — — — — —
* * * * * * * * * *
Him haply slumbring on the Norway foam
The pilot of some small night-founder'd skiff,
Deeming some island, oft, as sea-men tell,
With fixed anchor in his scaly rind
Moors in his side, under the lee, &c †.

On the words, *as sea-men tell*, says Hume ‡, "Words well added to obviate the incredibility of casting anchor in this manner."

* Par. Lost, x. 572. † Ibid. i. 201.
‡ Note in loc.

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* C. vi. s. 37.

the entire roof of the church was consumed*. The description in this simile was probably suggested to our author's imagination by this remarkable accident.

* Stow's Survey of London, p. 357. edit. 1633.

As to more particular objections, too many, I am sensible, must occur; one of which will probably be, that I have been more diligent in remarking the faults than the beauties of Spenser. That I have been deficient in encomiums on particular passages, did not proceed from a want of perceiving or acknowledging beauties; but from a persuasion, that nothing is more absurd or useless than the panegyrical comments of those, who criticise from the imagination rather than from the judgment, who exert their admiration instead of their reason, and discover more of enthusiasm than discernment. And this will most commonly be the case of those critics, who profess to point out beauties; because, as they naturally approve themselves to the reader's apprehension by their own force, no reason can often be given why they please. The same cannot always be said of faults, which

these *Observations*, thus reduced to general heads*, form a series of distinct essays on Spenser, and exhibit a course of systematical criticism on the *Faerie Queene*. But my principal argument was, that a formal edition of this poem, with notes, would have been at once impertinent and superfluous; as two publications of Spenser, under that form, are at present expected from the hands of two learned and ingenious critics†. Besides, it was never my design to give so complete and perpetual a comment on every part of our author, as such an attempt seemed to require. But while some passages are entirely overlooked, or but superficially touched, others will be found to have been discussed more at large, and investigated with greater research and accuracy, than such an attempt would have permitted.

* Except in Sections ix. xi.

† One of these has since appeared.

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I have frequently displayed without reserve or palliation,

It was my chief aim to give a clear and comprehensive estimate of the characteristical merits and manner, of this admired, but neglected, poet. For this purpose I have considered the customs and genius of his age; I have searched his cotemporary writers, and examined the books on which the peculiarities of his style, taste, and composition, are confessedly founded.

I fear I shall be censured for quoting too many pieces of this sort. But experience has frequently and fatally proved, that the commentator whose critical enquiries are employed on Spenser, Jonson, and the rest of our elder poets, will in vain give specimens of his classical erudition, unless, at the same time, he brings to his work a mind intimately acquainted with those books, which

though now forgotten, were yet in common use and high repute about the time in which his authors respectively wrote, and which they consequently must have read. While these are unknown, many allusions and many imitations will either remain obscure, or lose half their beauty and propriety: " as the figures vanish when the canvas is decayed."

Pope laughs at Theobald for giving us, in his edition of Shakespeare, a sample of

" —— All such *reading as never was read.*"

But these strange and ridiculous books which Theobald quoted, were unluckily the very books which Shakespeare himself had studied; the knowledge of which enabled that useful editor to explain so many difficult allusions and obsolete customs in his poet, which otherwise could never have been understood. For want of this sort of literature, Pope tells us, that the *dreadful Sagittary* in *Troilus* and

Cressida, signifies Teucer, so celebrated for his skill in archery. Had he deigned to consult an old history, called the *Destruction of Troy*, a book which was the delight of Shakespeare and of his age, he would have found that this formidable archer was no other than an imaginary beast, which the Grecian army brought against Troy*. If Shakespeare is worth reading, he is worth explaining; and the researches used for so valuable and elegant a purpose, merit the thanks of genius and candour, not the satire of prejudice and ignorance. That labour, which so essentially contributes to the service of true taste, deserves a more honourable repository than *The Temple of Dulness*. In the same strain of false satire†, Pope observes with an air of ridicule, that Caxton

* A little mistake. The Trojan army brought it against the Grecian. EDIT.

† Dunciad. B. i. 149. Not.

speaks of the Æneid "as a *history*, as a book *hardly known.*" But the satirist, perhaps, would have expressed himself with not much more precision or propriety concerning the Æneid, had he been Caxton's cotemporary. Certainly, had he wrote English poetry in so unenlightened a period, the world would have lost his refined diction and harmonious versification, the fortunate effects of better times. Caxton, rude and uncouth as he is, co-operated in the noblest cause: he was a very considerable instrument in the grand work of introducing literature into his country. In an illiterate and unpolished age he multiplied books, and consequently readers. The books he printed, besides the grossest barbarisms of style and composition, are chiefly written on subjects of little importance and utility; almost all, except the works of Gower and Chaucer, translations from the French: yet, such as they were, we enjoy their happy consequences at this

day. Science, the progressive state of which succeeding generations have improved and completed, dates her original from these artless and imperfect efforts.

Mechanical critics will perhaps be disgusted at the liberties I have taken in introducing so many anecdotes of ancient chivalry. But my subject required frequent proofs of this sort. Nor could I be persuaded that such inquiries were, in other respects, either useless or ridiculous; as they tended, at least, to illustrate an institution of no frivolous or indifferent nature. Chivalry is commonly looked upon as a barbarous sport, or extravagant amusement, of the dark ages. It had, however, no small influence on the manners, policies, and constitutions of ancient times, and served many public and important purposes. It was the school of fortitude, honour, and affability. Its exercises, like the Grecian games, habitu-

ated the youth to fatigue and enterprise. and inspired the noblest sentiments of heroism. It taught gallantry and civility to a savage and ignorant people, and humanized the native ferocity of the northern nations. It conduced to refine the manners of the combatants, by exciting an emulation in the devices and accoutrements, the splendour nd parade of their tilts and tournaments: while its magnificent festivals, thronged with noble dames and courteous knights, produced the first efforts of wit and fancy.

I am still further to hope, that together with other specimens of obsolete literature in general, hinted at before, the many references I have made, in particular to Romances, the necessary appendage of ancient Chivalry, will also plead their pardon. For however monstrous and unnatural these compositions may appear to this age of reason and refinement, they merit more attention

than the world is willing to bestow. They preserve many curious historical facts, and throw considerable light on the nature of the feudal system. They are the pictures of ancient usages and customs; and represent the manners, genius, and character of our ancestors. Above all, such are their Terrible Graces of magic and enchantment, so magnificently marvellous are their fictions and failings, that they contribute, in a wonderful degree, to rouse and invigorate all the powers of imagination: to store the fancy with those sublime and alarming images, which true poetry best delights to display.

Lastly, in analysing the Plan and Conduct of this poem, I have so far tried it by epic rules, as to demonstrate the inconveniencies and incongruities which the poet might have avoided, had he been more studious of design and uniformity. It is true, that his ro-

The wayes through which my weary steppes I guyde
In this *delightfull land of faerie*,
Are so exceeding spacious and wyde,
And sprinkled with such sweet varietie
Of all that pleasant is to ear or eye,
That I nigh ravisht with rare thoughts delight,
My *tedious travel* do forgett thereby:
And when I gin to feele decay of might,
It strength to me supplies, and cheares my dulled spright.

6. 1. 1.

THE END.

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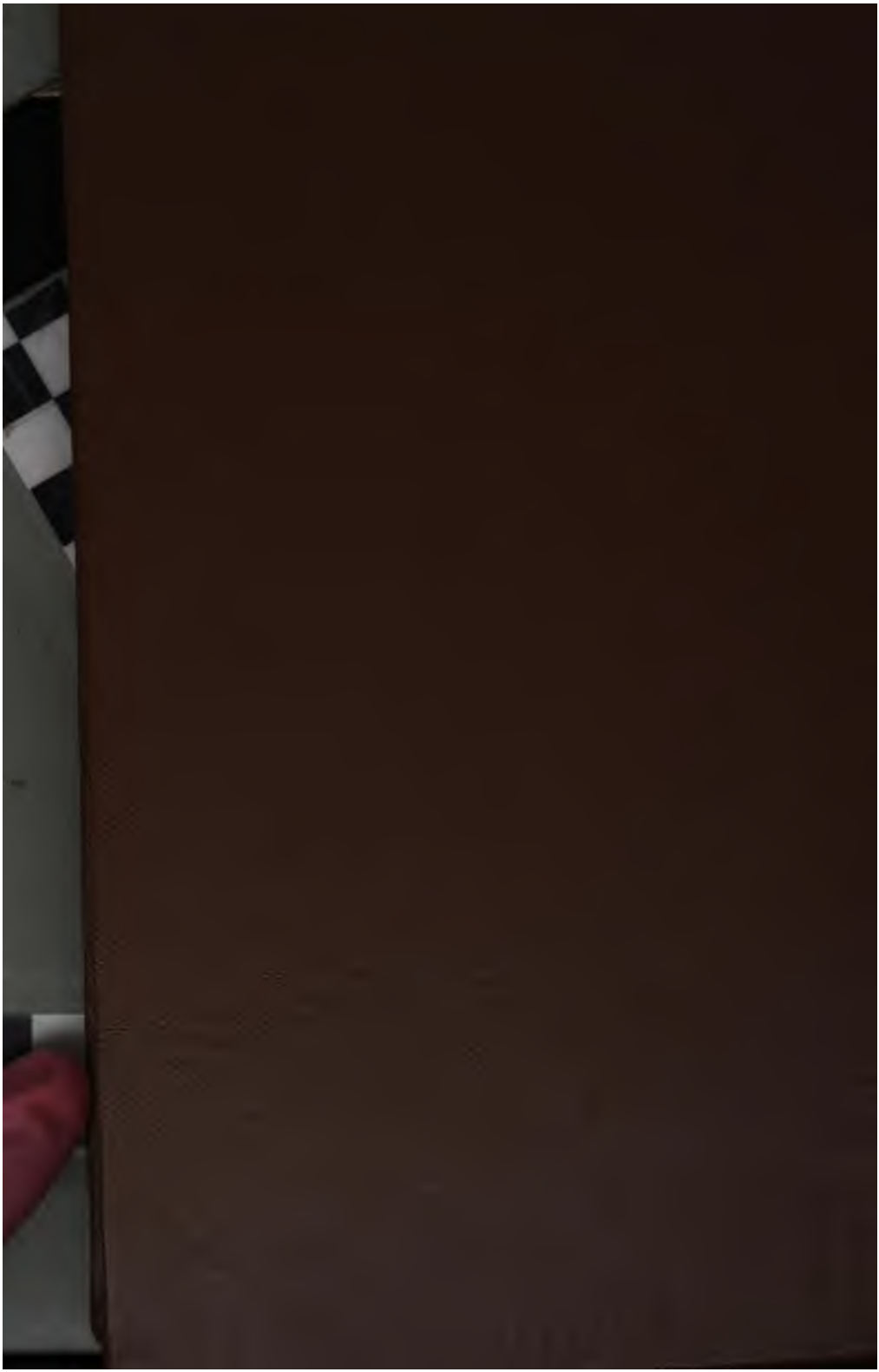
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